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ABSTRACT

A collection of 15 articles on cross-cultural issues in Alaskan education addresses educational policy issues, educational development issues, community/school issues, and teaching/learning issues. The one theme that permeates all of the articles is the value of participation by community members in all levels of the education of their children. Under educational policy issues are: "A Native Philosophy of Education" (Pavilla); "Cultural Definitions and Educational Programs" (Dubbs); "Cultural Considerations in Technological Innovations" (Orvik); and "The Log School: A Case for Appropriate Design" (Dubbs/Barnhardt). Educational development issues covered are: "Psychology of Culture Change and Education for Economic Development" (Tamas); "Nonformal Educational Strategies for Rural Development in Native Alaska" (Gaffney); and "A Cross-Cultural Training and Development Program for Rural Alaskan Teachers" (Grubis). Community/school issues include: "Bicultural School Organization and Curriculum" (Mendenhall); "Native Cultural Contexts and Formal Education" (Schafer); "Decisionmaking in a Rural Alaska Community" (Madsen); and "Folklore and Educational Administration in Alaska" (Rider). Teaching/learning issues are discussed in: "Promises to Keep" (Kuhn/Esmailka); "Tuning-In: Athabaskan Teachers and Athabaskan Students" (Barnhardt); "Social Control and Social Organization in an Alaskan Athabaskan Classroom" (Van Ness); and "Yup'ik Eskimo Women and Postsecondary Education" (Harrison). (MH)

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CROSS-CULTURAL ISSUES IN ALASKAN EDUCATION

Vol. II

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PREFACE

Education in Alaska appears to be in the late adolescent stage of development. Educational programs and the systems that support them are still maleable and somewhat adaptive to the environment in which they operate. They have not yet evolved to the more static state that tends to overtake long-established systems in a more stable environment, although signs of inertia are beginning to appear. Because the educational systems are still in a formative stage of development, Alaskans have an opportunity to shape them in ways that are specially suited to the unique conditions in the state. In addition to benefiting from other peoples' mistakes, we also can make use of our situation as an opportunity to test ideas and research issues that can be of benefit to people elsewhere. This book is intended to represent such efforts by people who have been working in the Alaskan context.

The issues discussed here are cross-cultural in their origin, in the sense that they arise out of the coming together of two different cultural systems -- one reflected in the western institutional structure of the school, and the other reflected in the fabric of life in Alaskan Native communities. While the problems that result from this cross-cultural encounter have been evident for a long time, we are just beginning to understand how and why they originate. The articles in this collection provide many new insights into the processes underlying cross-cultural education and offer new hope that we may one day be able to develop the alternative structures that are necessary to give everyone equal access to the resources of a culturally heterogeneous society.

The one theme that permeates all of the articles in this volume is the value of the participation by community members in all levels of the education of their children. From the making of policy to the designing of facilities to the teaching of the curriculum, Alaskan Natives have been taking and must continue to take an increasingly active part in the educational processes in their communities. While local participation is a necessary step in the improvement of educational programs, it is not in itself, however, sufficient to fully achieve the equality of services that communities are striving to achieve. Local participation must be coupled with an adaptive education system that permits varied forms of communication and interaction to occur, and stimulates the development of teaching/learning processes that are suited to the cultural patterns reflected in the community. This requires administrators as well as teachers who are not only culturally sensitive, but who also understand how cultural systems and bureaucratic institutions interact with one another and how they influence human behavior. It is to such issues that the articles in this book are addressed, and it is an understanding of such issues that will help Alaska emerge from its educational adolescence in a manner that will provide a model for cross-cultural education elsewhere in the country and the world.

I wish to express my appreciation to all of the authors who have made their work available for inclusion in this volume, which is the second volume of articles assembled around the theme of "Cross-Cultural Issues in Alaskan Education." It is their work that makes a book such as this possible. I also wish to thank Dean Coon, Ruth Glavinovich, Barbara Metrokin and Irma Jean Stichter of the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies staff for their assistance in editing and preparing the manuscript for printing. Finally, thanks to Jim Stricks for the cover design.

This volume is part of a continuing effort to disseminate ideas about educational issues in Alaska. These articles, along with a series of case studies and occasional papers, are published periodically by the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies to provide opportunities for broad-based dialogue and interaction on current issues. We welcome the submission of materials by anyone who feels he or she has something to offer for consideration in future publications. We also welcome comments and reactions to the materials included here.

Ray Barnhardt, Editor

Part I

Educational Policy Issues

A NATIVE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Patrick M. Pavilla
Akiachak IRA Contract School

(Ed. note: This paper was originally written for the Akiachak IRA Contract School, and has been slightly revised for this publication.)

Background

By most standards, Alaska Native people can be considered to be among the most isolated ethnic group in the country. They reside in many geographically diverse, isolated areas, thus constituting a need for the local communities to control the educational and other services of their people.

The dominant culture, through the federal and state governments, has consistently attempted to control all services provided for Alaska Natives. The Yup'ik, like most of Alaska's original people, have been exposed to successive impacts of outside influence. The early Russian traders and missionaries gave way to American missionaries, who, in turn, were followed by miners, seamen, traders, and other people who had different life styles. Many of these have been replaced by the bureaucrat who continues to prevail.

Each of the above groups changed the Yup'ik people in some way. In many ways the changes appear to be negative. The subsistence lifestyle of the early Yup'ik gave way to dependency on jobs, store-bought food and clothing, and permanent settlements near government facilities, including schools, hospitals, and other agencies.

The changes that occurred were often the result of institutional biases reflected in the dominant culture. These alien institutions have changed the Yup'ik society to the dominant culture's liking, but, in so doing, have brought many disadvantages to the Yup'ik population. They have left the Yup'ik to struggle for survival in a complex society.

After Caucasians settled in the area, the Eskimo had to make a drastic change in his lifestyle and adapt to a lifestyle with which he was unfamiliar. These changes included many obstacles that the Eskimo had to overcome in order to survive. During this process, he had to learn new ways to live and was forced to end the way of life he had known for centuries. This forced change brought many unwanted situations, but since it was brought in by a dominating culture, the Eskimo had no choice but to submit to the changes. Notable changes included family life, religion, health, and education. These four areas underwent drastic changes when the Caucasians arrived in Southwest Alaska. The people in this region did not ask for change, but the "melting pot" syndrome brought change to the Native. Most changes required a new lifestyle for the Native, and he had a difficult time adjusting. When a change was not occuring to the Caucasian's satisfaction, he would force the Native to adopt his standard of living. Such is the case with the educational system in Southwest Alaska.

Until recently the dominant culture's approach to educating the "uncivilized savage" was effective in the sense that it produced a crop of "red apples." When one refers to a red apple, he or she means that a Native was educated only to serve the Caucasian and also to think like him. State and federal governments were proud of the teachers who were responsible for educating the naive Natives. What they were really doing, however, was deculturizing these individuals and eventually persuading them that the Caucasian way was the best way to live. This was a popular form of education until recently, when there arose concerned local communities who realized there was a need for new approaches for educating the Natives.

A Native Philosophy of Education

Education is society's means of presenting, enhancing and strengthening its way of life. Native education must serve to accurately and effectively transmit the societal and cultural needs of Alaskan Natives. We must perceive education, not only as the intellectual development of the individual for his/her benefit, but also as a social orientation and developmental process responsible for social change which will benefit a collective group. Education also must develop an awareness of the social, economic, political, educational, religious, vocational and environmental conditions of our society.

As educators, we must dedicate ourselves to developing the Yup'ik perceptive abilities so that we can understand our way of life. We must apply our knowledge, awareness, and our collective abilities so the community can achieve an effective social transformation.

The students, parents, and teachers must work together: This process must be in accordance with the concept, "Ilakutneq." As long as students, parents and teachers are able to relate to one another as "Ilakukut," school problems and other social concerns can be overcome and the school will prosper. If a student has a problem, he or she can discuss it with his/her peers and teachers and seek consultation with whomever the student can trust. The parent must be involved and work with the staff to insure that there is total communication. In this way, we learn to work together.

The educational program must be designed to guarantee the survival of the Yup'ik people by properly planting each foot in the two cultures. Education must be a tool that enhances identification and acceptance in either culture.

Native education also must teach the values that have kept the Yup'ik traditions alive and sustained life in the Delta. It must foster in the students pride in themselves as members of a strong people and teach them the skills and the understanding of life that is essential to keep them strong.

Education, both Native and non-Native, is the main purpose of the schools, and the educational program must not only benefit the students, but also must include the community. All knowledge should be shared -- what one knows is to be taught to others. This process of mutual help was, and still is, a living part of the Yup'ik culture. When implementing this process, the student also becomes an instructor who must share what he learns and help educate the Yup'ik people.

We must create cultural awareness and reinforce pride in our language and way of life. Therefore, our goal is to build positive images to counter the physical and psychological destruction of the Yup'ik people.

Survival of the Yup'ik people will be ensured when we are able to adapt to a changing environment which is threatening the very existence of our culture, our traditions, and our way of life. Through a better educational system, with a Native core curriculum, we will be able to understand and live in our own culture and be respected by the other.

Presently, there is a growing movement to develop Native-oriented curriculum for tribally controlled education systems. Rough Rock Demonstration School in Window Rock, Arizona is an example of a modern-day, innovative educational program run by the Navajo Indian Tribe. The Little Red School House in Minneapolis is an urban survival school which serves the educational needs of Indian students. The four Contract schools in Akiak, Akiachak, Chevak, and Tuluksak, are Alaskan examples of progressive education for Yup'ik students.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that a functional Native curriculum is possible. It is a long and laborious process, but it is essential. The system in which this curriculum is embedded is going to continue to be that of the dominant society. There will continue to be the skeptical viewpoints which cannot accept that both ways can exist without one destroying the other. In fact, both dominant culture and Native ways have existed in the lives of generations of Native students who have had to integrate both for several centuries. All those thousands of Native people who have endured have provided us with a living model of dual citizenship and bicultural education.

CULTURAL DEFINITIONS AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

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(Ed. note: This paper was originally prepared for presentation at the 40th Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Denver, March 22, 1980 and has been slightly revised for this publication. All rights are reserved by the author, and quotations may not be made without the written consent of the author.)

Introduction

This paper is primarily concerned with how definitions of culture tend to shape the focus and activities of educational programs having cultural labels such as bicultural, multicultural, or cultural heritage. However, before proceeding further, it is necessary to comment on three factors which influenced the content and direction of this paper.

First, the proper title of this paper should be "Cultural Definitions and Educational Programs in Alaska: Some Exploratory Thoughts," because it is based on several years of unsystematic observations, casual conversations and unconfirmed impressions. To the best of my knowledge, this topic has not been systematically researched, at least in Alaska.

Second, I will make no attempt to distinguish between the various cultural labels assigned to educational programs. While terms like bicultural, multicultural, cultural heritage, cross-cultural, and so forth need not be lumped together, it seems that in practice they are. What is one person's bicultural program is another's multicultural program. Thus, this paper will tend to focus on cultural labels and definitions at a general, rather than specific level.

Third, this paper is directed at elementary level educational programs because the preponderance of culturally labelled programs seem to operate at this level and, more importantly, I believe the impact of these programs is more profound at the elementary level. I will return to the latter point later in the paper.

Defining Conceptual Terms

While an examination of the properties and limitations of definitions is better left to the philosopher of science, it is necessary to briefly comment on how definitions of conceptual terms, or assumptions taking on the character of definitions, tend to structure the focus and activities of action programs -- be they educational, economic, or agricultural programs. Most action programs that I am familiar with employ and, in fact, parade around a variety of conceptual terms while paying little heed to how their often implicit or, at best, imprecise definitions of these terms shape the structure of their action programs. This looseness is in part excusable due to the confines of time that face most action programs; however, it is a serious problem for the action program's target population because the definitions or assumptions often determine who is included in the target population, the goals of the action program, the activities needed to attain the goals, and so on.

For example, if we examined how various action programs perceive or define the condition of poverty, we would see that these perceptions directly influence the programs (Hallman, 1968). If poverty is viewed in an individual deficiency mode, the goals of the action program will be oriented toward changing the individual through activities such as education, vocational training and/or personal rehabilitation. Conversely, if poverty is viewed in a societal deficiency mode, the goals and activities of the program will be directed toward a restructuring of society.

More to the point of this paper is the Federal Government's current attempt to define "Indian." The results of the nationwide hearings on how an "Indian" should be defined are, in my opinion, critical for Native Americans because the definition will determine who receives, among other things, what legal rights and access to resources. If, for example, an "Indian" was defined as a person who was born of Indian parents who lived on a reservation, and this individual now also lives on a reservation, one can easily see how many Federal Indian programs would be changed and how the lives of many now defined as "non-Indians" would be altered.

Definitions and Education

As we move into the educational arena, we find that there is a considerable amount of attention and creative thought now being paid to definitions, particularly on the part of school administrators, grant writers, and finance managers. This simply occurs because definitions are related to categorical funding programs and legally mandated educational programs. In terms of the former, especially if minor local matching funds are involved, definitions are liberally applied because the funds forthcoming are in direct proportion to the number of students who meet the criteria. For example, because my Anglo wife happens to be fluent in Spanish and an Alaskan school district questionnaire seemingly was constructed with bilingual funds in mind, our child was classified as a bilingual child although we are an English monolingual family. On the other hand, definitions seem to be restrictively interpreted when it comes to legally mandated programs because these programs often require the expenditure of large amounts of local funds to comply with the law. I suspect the proposed "Lau Remedies" are designed to prevent school districts from restrictively interpreting the definition of a bilingual child.

At another level, that of educational programs, definitions are equally important but they do not seem to have the same level of priority as do definitions involving finances. Perhaps this simply reflects the "Big Business" aspect of education but, whatever the reason, there is a need for educational administrators and teachers to pay more attention to the role played by definitions in educational programs. In the remainder of this paper, I will attempt to demonstrate why this is important by looking at culturally labelled educational programs.

Given the volume and widespread agreement of the social sciences and educational literature of the last decade concerned with the role of formal education in society, it seems unnecessary here to reiterate or defend the proposition that formal education in the United States was, is, and perhaps always will be the cultural program of the dominant Euro-American group. While the emphases and content of this cultural program sometimes change, the basic thrust remains the same -- the cultural and technical preparation, assimilation, and, unfortunately, sorting of new societal members for places in the larger social system. Social scientists, educators and others have commented at length on this phenomenon but perhaps none has done so as eloquently as has Doris Lessing in the The Golden Notebook:

> Ideally, what should be said to every child, repeatedly, throughout his or her school life is something like this: 'You are in the process of being indoctrinated. We have not yet evolved a system of education that is not a system of indoctrination. We are sorry, but it is the best we can do. What you are being taught here is an amalgam of current prejudice and the choices of this particular culture. The slightest look at history will show how impermanent these must be. You are being taught by people who have been able to accommodate themselves

> to a regime of thought laid down by their predecessors. It is a self-perpetuating system. Those of you who are more robust and individual than others will be encouraged to leave and find ways of educating yourself -- educating your own judgment. Those that stay must remember, always and all the time, that they are being moulded and patterned to fit into the narrow and particular needs of this particular society' (1973:xvi-xvii).

If the channeling role of formal education is so pervasive as it seems to be, how do we account for the current plethora of culturally labelled programs that, at least superficially, seem to emphasize or at least allow for alternatives to the imperatives of the dominant group? I admit to being possibly overly cynical on this, but I believe these culturally labelled programs, since they are directly associated with subordinate minority groups, represent nothing more than pacification education or, more appropriately, pacification politics. I suspect that if one did a rigorous analysis of subordinate group unrest in the United States and correlated this unrest with the appearance of subordinate minority cultural programs, the result would be a very high rate of correlation. This is particularly so because these programs, as far as I can determine, have been able to do little to alter the basic structure of the dominant society of the United States in general and of Alaska in particular, the position of subordinate groups within this structure, or the condition of the members of the subordinate groups themselves. Thus, these programs appear to be a very affordable pacification tool, especially when compared to the alternative of unremitting pressures for a society with equal access to power and privilege for all.

Although I do not think anyone expects these programs to cause a major societal transformation, I do think many people, especially those who are the target population for these programs in Alaska, (and maybe elsewhere) expect -- and deserve to expect -- more from these programs than they are now receiving. It is my contention that these programs are failing their constituents primarily because of the way they define or conceive of culture.

Anyone who has spent any time delving into the idea or concept of culture is immediately impressed with one fact: there are as many particular definitions of culture as there are writers about culture. No one person seems to be able to accept any other person's definition of culture. I am not sure if there is some profound scientific reason for this diversity, or if it is simply a question of vanity. I suspect the latter. However, if one has not simply abandoned the idea of investigating culture by this time and is willing to delve further into the topic, some general features or patterns will emerge which can be used to sort out and classify the various definitions of culture.

A crude but useful heuristic tool for sorting through this definitional forest is to think of these definitions as being arrayed along a continuum. At one end will be definitions which emphasize material products, at midpoint will be actions, and at the other pole will be a focus on conceptual or cognitive systems. Using this continuum, it is possible to classify most definitions of culture according to their central tendencies because few attempt to embrace the whole continuum, although one could point out how there are interrelationships between the points on the continuum. For example, if we define culture as "a system of learned contexts of meaning and guidelines for behavior shared by members of a society," (Dubbs and Whitney, 1980: 27) we are talking about a definition which tends toward the cognitive pole. On the other hand, if we define culture as what people do everyday, we are around the midpoint of the continuum; and so on.

The popular or, if you will, public definition of culture is one which hovers around the material product end of the continuum because it emphasizes such things as technological devices, clothing, decorative ornaments and artistic creations. Since few classroom teachers in Alaska seem to have much grounding in the social sciences beyond the lower division degree prerequisites and little cross-cultural preparation, it is not surprising that this definition is also the one that is employed in most elementary education programs in Alaska. This materially oriented definition of culture is, in my opinion, also the primary reason why these various cultural programs fail their constituents.

It is admittedly extremely easy to think of culture as an assemblage of material items because it allows one to see, touch, and build "culture" with little or no personal effort. It also, no doubt, is a lot easier to prepare lesson plans around things rather than around ideas. Thus, there are some pragmatic benefits from this artifactual approach to culture. Unfortunately, this definition also sets the conditions for failure because it positions the cultural program within the curriculum, sets the content of the program, and determines how the program will be accomplished.

When one implicitly or explicitly views culture as "material things," it is very easy to relegate minority group cultures to unimportant or low-status positions. In most Alaskan school districts, cultural heritage, bicultural, or multicultural programs seem to be viewed as curriculum appendages rather than as curriculum foundations. These programs, because they only focus on material items, are thought of as "add ons" that take place only after the "really important," i.e., Euro-American, cultural program has been accomplished. Because these "add ons" are a separate and unequal part of the school curriculum, they are directly defined as unimportant for most teachers and therefore are the first to suffer if there is a preparation time or resource utilization problem. While I am not sure they have reached the status of a recess, they are fast approaching it. For the children, the appendage status is much more devastating: By adding the cultural program onto the regular curriculum and then paying scant attention to it, the school is effectively saying to the child, "We will tolerate a little of that which we have defined as your culture, but it really isn't too important in the grand scheme of things and if you think about this, you really aren't too important either unless you 'get with' the dominant Euro-American culture we are spending a lot of time teaching you." If this accurately depicts what an Alaska Native child learns about himself or herself during the impressionable first years of formal schooling, and I think it is, then there is little wonder that there exist today massive problems among teenage and young adults of all Alaska Native groups. There is literally a life or death crisis among young Alaska Natives today.

The impact of the artifactual approach to culture becomes more evident when we begin to look into the content of educational programs premised on this definition of culture. By definition, the content is the manufacture and/or comparison of material products. In and of itself, there is nothing wrong with having children taught how to make items like sleds or snowshoes if they are associated with the life style of the community. However, I believe these productive skills can be taught much more effectively in a family or community context than in the school shop, even if a member of the local community is employed as the "cultural resource" instructor. [illegible] real problem associated with this type of content is that by defining culture in material terms, the educational program is, in effect, saying that concerns such as ideas about existence, the individual's place within the stream of life, and proper rules for social interaction are not culture (although I am not sure what else they could be) and that these concerns are not important because we do not define them as being important. This would be somewhat explicable if the "definers" were simply the transient Anglo teachers who do not know or care much about Alaska Native cultural systems, but they are not. While there are too few certified Alaska Native teachers, many of them and the far larger number of Alaska Native classroom aides, cultural resource per-ons, and school board members also adopt the material definition of their own culture and, by so doing, further legitimize this definition, albeit with perhaps some intuitive degree of discomfort. Why does this occur? Since these Alaska Natives are products of and function within the dominant Euro-American educational system, it seems they have been taught or conditioned to believe the essence of their culture is their extremely functional artifactual inventory. The parka, mukluks or beadwork become tangible cultural remnants that can or are allowed to be preserved amidst the swirls of socio-cultural change. This -- and there is no other phrase for it -- colonial legacy pervades not only the cultural educational programs, it also is manifested in the goals and means of formal education itself.

But what of the children who partake in these materially oriented cultural programs? It seems that they are affected in several ways -- none of them good. First, like the preceding generations, they will be taught that their culture is nothing more than a fragmented collection of material products. Second, because the dominant system has defined their culture as fragmented material objects, the children will have to start wondering about or questioning other aspects of their lives, or those aspects which I would define as truly cultural. If the traditional beliefs, values, and ideas that have been taught to the children by their parents or relatives are not important enough to be defined as culture, what do they become except something to be discarded for the beliefs, values, and ideas that have been defined as important, i.e., the Euro-American ones? What then happens to the cohesive forces in the community? The answer seems obvious: disintegration at personal, familial and community levels begins. A third and most disturbing effect is that at some time everyone asks the question, "Who am I"? After passing through the Euro-American and Alaska Native cultural programs, how does the Alaska Native child, teen-ager, or young adult answer this question except to say, "I don't know." And then what happens? The possible range of adverse consequences is all too obvious to warrant discussion in this paper.

The remaining effect of the material definition of culture on educational programs relates to how these programs are accomplished. Since they stress production and occur in the school plant, they are conducted in a "school-as-usual" fashion. There is no consideration given to the cultural basis of learning styles, the social organization of activity, and so forth because these are not thought about in the regular school day. Thus, we have a paradox in which attempts to teach the local "culture" are done in ways that are alien to the local culture. Even if local individuals are brought into the school as cultural resource people, they find it difficult, if not impossible, to teach in their own style because, based on their experience, they know that "school teaching" is supposed to be something different. If they venture forth and use their own teaching style, it will not be too long before there are mutterings among the regular teachers and/or school administrators that there are discipline problems and nothing seems to be getting done. These pressures will quickly force the individual to fit into the conventional school mode or he/she will lose the position.

I do not pretend to have the solution to the problems mentioned thus far, but I would be remiss if I did not offer a few recommendations as a conclusion to this paper. First and foremost, either through pre-service or in-service cross-cultural training, teachers must move from the popular material definition of culture to one which is cognitively oriented. That is, one which defines culture as the learned and shared knowledge, beliefs, values, and expressive modes that people have in their heads and which they use to interpret and interact with the world around them.

Second, once culture is defined as a holistic cognitive system, all facets of the school curriculum will need to be integrated around and accomplished within this cultural framework. The Euro-American cultural program that exists today must, in essence, be replaced by the Alaska Native cultural program. This does not mean that existing content areas have to be abandoned. What it does mean, however, is that these content areas must relate to the local cultural context and must be taught in locally appropriate ways. I believe this would be very difficult to accomplish without an effective bilingual component because of language's critical relationship to cultural and thought processes.

Third, since formal education done on Alaska Native cultural terms cannot be isolated from the community, "going to school" will have to involve more than spending time in the existing physical plant. The geographical community and its members will also become the "school."

About this time, a fair question to ask is, "What will these recommendations actually accomplish"? Candidly, I am not sure. However, I am sure that if educational changes along this line are not implemented, the cultures of Alaska Natives will be in grave danger of being lost forever.

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CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS IN TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS

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(Ed. note: This paper was originally prepared for presentation at the 40th Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Denver, March 22, 1980 and has been slightly revised for this volume.)

If Wendell Oswalt is to be taken seriously, this paper would be more appropriate for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Neglected Anthropology. Oswalt bemoaned the tendency for anthropologists to ignore modern technological influences. He thus speculated:

> As the number of aboriginal groups declined, Anthropological interest in technology began to lose much of its momentum. Most ethnographers have been reluctant to describe and analyze the technologies of peoples in the process of westernization, if only because imported manufactured goods often have replaced locally handcrafted artifacts within a relatively short span of time (Oswalt, 1976: 33-4).

If we ignore for the moment some of the notable exceptions to the above statement, it probably strikes a chord of recognition in many of us.

What I wish to discuss in this paper, however, has nothing to do with the frequency with which anthropologists study technology. Rather, I discuss the models that seem most often to be used by social scientists, not just anthropologists, to guide the study of technology. These models not only influence the selection of questions raised about technology, but guide the selection of answers as well.

First, what do I mean by technology? A much-maligned term these days, technology can raise a red flag for about half the people. For the other half, preceding "technology" by the adjective "appropriate" evokes a response of similar vigor, especially in Alaska.

The Random House Dictionary of the English Language defines technology as "1. the branch of knowledge that deals with industrial arts, applied science, engineering, etc. 2. the application of knowledge for practical ends, as in a particular field: *educational technology*," for example. Funk and Wagnalls (1954) gives precedence to technology as "Theoretical knowledge of industries," and secondarily, "the application of science to the arts."

To the extent I understand these definitions, they reflect current popular usage. We are certainly used to equating the suffix, -ology, -- with the study of whatever precedes it, treating it as a body of knowable knowledge. On the other hand, I find such definitions awkward because of the infinite logical spiral they initiate. If technology is the knowledge of something people know how to do, so must there be a knowledge of that knowledge, which requires further knowledge, and so on. What is needed is a definition that doesn't start with knowledge about knowledge, but simply assumes certain abilities to have existed and proceeds to the product. Oswalt (1976), for example, defines technology "as all the ways in which people produce artifacts (p. 33)." One is then freed by this definition to study the "technology" of something or someone. The important thing is that this definition rightly implies all humans are technological. More than that, Oswalt is of the opinion essentially that we are what we make:

> My contention is that man is first and foremost a technological animal and that the major distinctions among lifeways should be made on the basis of manufactured forms (Oswalt, 1973: 21).

One needn't agree with Oswalt to see the distinction between his definition of technology and the connotations prevailing in the socio-political climate of today. Clearly, what most people have in mind is some nonspecified concept of Western technology, usually with the assumption that applied science is its basis.

Ferguson, a historian and "curator of technology," made a number of observations that help bridge the obvious gap between the latter view that mixes the sciences with technology to produce Western technology, and the former view of Oswalt's that so overly includes all human productive endeavors as to be nearly useless. Ferguson first states:

> This scientific age too readily assumes that whatever knowledge may be incorporated in the artifacts of technology must be derived from science. This assumption is a bit of folklore that ignores the many nonscientific decisions, both large and small, made by technologists as they design the world we inhabit (1977: 827).

The point I wish to make is that the distinction that creeps into thinking based on this folklore is not only a false one, but one that helps explain the apparent neglect of technology by anthropologists. On the other hand, the same false distinction, between Western and anyone else's technology, because it confounds science with technology, has encouraged an entrepreneurship of technology that people, anthropologists especially, find increasingly odious.

Alaska seems especially attractive to technology entrepreneurs, perhaps because there are problems posed by the natural environment that challenge the modern technologist's sense of adventure. More likely, because great sums of money are spent annually to solve Alaska's rural cross-cultural "problems" by technological means, there are more than enough vendors to go around. The example that comes most readily to mind is the rapid, almost revolutionary development of telecommunications in rural Alaska. For over four years the Alaska State Legislature reflecting for the most part rural interests, has subsidized the delivery of entertainment T.V. to twenty-two small villages throughout the state. Last year the legislature appropriated ten million dollars to expand the program to every village with twenty-five or more people in it. The Governor vetoed all but a modest expansion of the program. Knowing the political impossibility of discontinuing their hold on this tiger's tail, the legislature has gently asked other state agencies to develop less entertaining uses for the state's extensive investment in primetime T.V.

The State Department of Education has responded to this gentle pressure with considerable enthusiasm. Under that agency, numerous uses of the state's satellite telecommunications network have been designed to take advantage of the "free" satellite transponder time already leased by the state under its original program. There are nonsatellite educational technology applications resulting from the momentum as well. Clearly we are in something of a development spiral in which telecommunications technology (the kind some people don't like) has been proliferated under what may well be a self-justifying ritual.

In Alaska, perhaps elsewhere as well, we can identify two main models of thinking used to evaluate these rapid technological developments; the military model and the medical model. The first I call the military model, not because anyone is at war, but because the modern military is the embodiment of the systematic, planned application of science to technology. If Gilbert and Sullivan were alive today, they most certainly would create a "Modern Major General" pattering on about computer-based management systems. He might sing something like:

Toward General Systems Theory
I'm 'Bang for Buck' in attitudes.
I'll plan your life, remove all strife,
With systematic platitudes,

Like 'Maximize your minimum
for optimum complexity.'
And if you will abide that swill,
I'll pluck you from perplexity.

Postman's (1976) term for complete faith in planning is "systemaphilia," a morbid attraction to certainty. When applied to complex problems such as waging a war or designing a curriculum, systemaphilia "arises from the assumption that human beings are sufficiently clever, knowledgeable, and multiperspectived to design complete and just about perfect systems of human activity."

Planning and evolution by definition contradict one another, they are mutually exclusive processes. I won't go so far as to say that planning is "unnatural" in the dark, perverse sense, but it is unnatural in the literal sense. Both refer to possible ways things can get done. One distinction may be that planning is what brings change under intentional human control. My contention is that planning merely reorganizes intentional human control by concentrating it in the hands of fewer humans. As opposed to the planning of technology, the evolution of technology has by its nature been driven by the decentralized, diffused activity of individuals in face-to-face interaction with other individuals. The control is still there, but it is organized in a way that never allows the authority to implement technology to exceed the willingness of the receiver to refuse it. Information is the key, not just ethnographic information but the kind of intelligence that notices what people are trying to do with their everyday lives. Such information is created by direct observation, not through "needs assessments." The assessment of needs is itself a technology authoritatively implemented without regard to its cultural appropriateness.

To illustrate the point further, in one of their planning documents the Alaska State Department of Education have proposed "A technology based model for individualized instruction."

> The instructional model described is designed to maximize development of students' decision-making ability and their role in the instructional design process. The model is predicated upon a systematically integrated system of learning matrices. The matrices are carefully developed in close cooperation with the student and are designated to provide a meaningful, relevant education which is sensitive to the values of both the student and the school (Nelson, 1979:ii).

It is clear that what is desired by the author is a totally managed educational environment in which teaching functions are conceptualized "as analogous to those of a 'learning manager,'" connoting "greater precision in the design and development of learning matrix networks for individual students."

If the reader is still not convinced in the faith Nelson (and DOE, by implication) has in systems, the following is offered:

> The process concept inherent within the advisor's management function also strongly supports the development of a systematic, data-based, decision process. This single concept -- systematic, data-based decision-making -- is virtually revolutionary in education and will almost single-handedly ensure the delivery of a meaningful, relevant education (Nelson, 1979:46).

My objective here is not to evaluate the completeness, consistency, or even the desirability of this system. I have only one criticism: the system presupposes the compliance of the student (not to mention the teacher) to participate. By not leaving room to say no to the system, students and teachers have only passive-aggressive means at their disposal by which to resist this particular form of perfection. As such, this is a good example of authority to implement technology which exceeds the willingness of the receiver to refuse it. The authority referred to here is not the authority to coerce but to seduce, by the systemmatic employment of self-justifying features, the principle such feature being "contingency management."

> One technique which has proven to be highly successful, in motivation management, has been contingency management. This refers to a systematic approach for assuring the availability of various kinds of reward, contingent upon the satisfactory execution of each desired performance (Nelson, 1979:48, emphasis added).

Who could resist such a prospect? That's the problem.

The second model is the one currently preferred by most anthropologists. I call it the medical model because it treats technology as a contagious disease to which minority cultures are particularly susceptible. The difference between the military model and the medical model are sharp and well focused.

I won't dwell at length on the features of the medical model, because they self-evidently contrast with the features of the military model. Where one seeks planned perfection, the other analyzes "unplanned consequences of planned social change." Where one seeks to predict and control outcomes, the other prefers to say "I told you so." Both models, however, share a common feature. They both reflect one of the more persistant residues of modern folklore: that technology is a product of science. Ferguson points out that "this scientific age too readily assumes that whatever knowledge may be incorporated in the artifacts of technology must be derived from science" (Ferguson, 1977:827).

The belief in a mythological relationship between science and technology has important educational implications. According to Ferguson, such a belief de-emphasizes the role of nonverbal visualization:

> Pyramids, cathedrals, and rockets exist not because of geometry, theory of structure, or thermodynamics, but because they were first a picture -- literally a vision -- in the minds of those who build them.

He questions the long-term value of the systematic reduction in status of aspects of education related to visualization in engineering design courses in favor of more analytical methods:

> Nonverbal thinking, which is a central mechanism in engineering design, involves perceptions, the stock-in-trade of the artist not the scientist. Because perceptive processes are not assumed to entail 'hard thinking,' it has been customary in engineering curricula to consider nonverbal thought among the more primitive stages in the development of cognitive processes and inferior to verbal or mathematical thought (p. 834).

The implications of Ferguson's observations for education, especially for cross-cultural education, are significant. First, there is ample evidence within the dominant culture that the variety of cognitive styles represented in the general population of students is systematically ignored in education curricula (Messick, 1970; Witkin, 1973). If this is true within the dominant culture, it may be even more so in situations where dominant culture education models are transferred to a radically different environment where cognitive differences may be even more pronounced (Kleinfeld, 1973; Witkin, 1967).

Witkin and Berry (1975) have done research suggesting that the mode of interaction a culture characteristically has with its environment exerts a powerful influence over how members of that culture process information in order to survive. It follows that a culture's technology is also a result of the person-environment interaction.

We face the prospect of a rural Alaskan village curriculum based on increasingly verbal information foundations. It should surprise no one that one "needs assessment" after another gives "language deficiency" top priority among rural education problems to be solved. I contend here that any need to enhance nonverbal visualization processes in order to solve community problems never had a fair chance to be revealed. The methods typically used to assess needs -- primarily verbal, primarily system-based -- preclude our ability even to raise such needs as questions. It isn't a fair fight.

And yet we now have sufficient reason to be concerned that in the name of "systematic planning" we have the potential to exclude the very educational processes needed to foster intellectual self-sufficiency. Intellectual self-sufficiency implies a deep understanding of and adaptability to the immediate context. But intellectual self-sufficiency also implies independence from the constraints of science as folklore. Systemaphilia is science folklore run amok, in social science no less than in "hard" science. Curriculum design that is overly dependent on verbal descriptions and verbal specification leaves untouched those human capacities by which people created the world in which they live.

The dilemma implied by my conceptualization of the military v. the medical model lies in its erosive effect on intellectual self-sufficiency. The proliferation of sophisticated Western technology may be a Faustian bargain, but attacking it by means of the medical model is nothing less than Quixotic. In their extreme forms, both approaches are bound to create more, rather than less, dependency on physical, economic, and intellectual resources outside the isolated environments in which the members of Alaska's indigenous minority groups have chosen to live.

The question is how to make potential technological innovations self-evaluating within the environments they are supposed to improve.

I have stated already my lack of faith in the ability of the military model to plan away the unwanted features of technology. I have little more faith in what I have called the medical model because it relies heavily on *a priori* assumptions that outside innovations represent cultural discontinuities too great to be of benefit, followed by *post hoc* evaluations affirming the consequent. Nor will a *laissez-faire* position be of any help because unnecessary technology is not self-rejecting. This is, "natural" evolutionary forces will not cause an inappropriate technology to fall under its own weight as long as the entrepreneurs of technology, local or otherwise, continue to find their work profitable.

A necessary part of the answer is to shift the locus of control to local entrepreneurship. However, even though this shift is a necessary condition, further conditions need to be explored before sufficient safe-guards against the unwanted effects of technology can be realized.

Does the answer lie in advocating a conservative policy about technology? That is, should we, as social scientists, merely encourage Native constituencies to exercize prudence in the face of the hard sell? Possibly, but I think in the long run such a policy would foster a climate of distrust rather than co-operation. Local entrepreneurship is already on the increase through the provisions of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. An air of across-the-board conservatism would erode the conditions by which to gain the experience to make sound technology investments.

There is considerable evidence that in Native communities the consumption of technology is highly selective (Orvik, 1977: 171). Telecommunications demonstrations that have been organized to allow individuals a great deal of choice when and when not to participate have shown community-specific patterns of consumption. More specifically, it appears that aspects of technology based on the presumption of a cultural deficit, in this case standard English oral language development, are particularly subject to polite rejection by Native consumers.

The latter finding is perhaps the most important clue I can offer an "applied anthropologist" who is searching for a useful alternative to the two models I have presented in this paper. Ethnographic insight, tempered with a fair-minded appreciation for the potential value of technological innovations may be, in the long run, the most appropriate and realistic preventative anyone could prescribe.

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THE LOG SCHOOL: A CASE FOR APPROPRIATE DESIGN

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Introduction

For many remote northern communities, especially Native American communities, the design, construction and heating of the school would be more culturally and technologically appropriate if local materials and expertise were utilized. In addition, there would be widespread beneficial outcomes for the quality of life in the local community.

In the first part of this paper we focus on the continuing de-localization of northern communities and how the typical school structure historically has been the paramount manifestation of de-localization. Particular attention is paid to the economic and symbolic significances and consequences of the imported school structure in the local community. In many ways, this external dependency system has had an adverse effect on the creative use of local resources, the subsistence life style, and the quality of life itself.

In the second part of the paper we explain how the design, construction, and maintenance of the log school could reduce delocalization and contribute significantly to the cultural, economic, and technical well-being of the community, particularly its educational system. We examine how such topics as appropriate technology, indigenous cultural knowledge, localized energy and resource systems, and self-sufficiency and self-determination are intimately related to the log school concept. We conclude with some suggestions and examples of how more appropriate designs can be developed and utilized to maximize the opportunity for community self-determination and self-reliance, and to create an educational environment more appropriately suited to a northern life style.

Schools in the North

In general, the majority of the various developmental processes affecting small northern communities, especially Native

American communities, or communities established in indigenous Native locales where the majority of the population is Native American, can be seen as a subset of one pervasive historical process -- de-localization. Pelto (1975:31), utilizing a general ecological framework, succinctly defines de-localization as:

> . . . the tendency for any territorially defined population to become increasingly dependent on resources, information flow and socioeconomic linkages with systems of energy and resources outside their particular area . . .

and, we might add, outside of their local control. A reality of life in the North, and graphic evidence of the historical consequences of the de-localization process, is the probability that the formerly self-reliant, subsistence-based and autonomous Northern Native American populations would encounter serious survival problems, at least in the short run, without extensive conduits to external resources. While subsistence remains a primary way of life in many northern communities, it is a way of life permeated by external intrusions which have taken on the character of absolute necessities, particularly in the techno-economic realm, rather than remaining as alternatives. It is very difficult to imagine a northern community, at least in Alaska, devoid of external energy sources, technology, food, clothing, and so forth, because the developmental/de-localization process has affected so many aspects of life and it shows few signs of abating. Nowhere is the de-localization process more vivid than in the incongruities reflected in the physical, psychological, and cultural presence of schools in these communities.

In Alaska, schooling and the attendant construction of school structures were initially part of a religious proselytization effort until the federal government became minimally involved with educating its northern populations through the passage of the First Organic Act of 1884. Schooling then became part of an ambivalent governmental effort which, at various times, was geared to assimilation, isolationism, self-determination, and segregation -- all of which were relatively unsuccessful for reasons too complex to discuss in this paper. Schooling and other governmental services were carried out in school structures typical of the times and setting. Diamond Jenness (1962:29) describes these early structures:

> The frame or log school buildings, whether they contained two classrooms or only one, usually needed repair, lacked running water and indoor facilities, were poorly lighted and, until the early introduction of oil-burning stoves, poorly heated with wood or coal; while the teacher's home, even when

> detached from the schools, carried only the simplest and cheapest furniture and was hardly more comfortable than the classroom.

While Jenness's description is probably accurate from external visitor's perspective, it is likely not the perspective of the school structure that would have been elicited from a member of the northern community. From their perspective, the school was and, in most cases, still is the largest and seemingly most "modern" facility in the community. In the post World War II era, the period of the most rapid de-localization of northern communities, the allegedly uncomfortable log/frame schools described by Jenness were gradually replaced by larger and certainly more modern structures. These are today being replaced or supplemented by even larger and more technologically advanced structures, so that the school continues to be the most imposing and expensive structure in northern communities. Many would argue that this "bigger and better" aspect of de-localization is as it should be, both in terms of improving education and advancing the quality of life in northern communities. We obviously disagree and advocate the replacement of the large, modern and expensive school structure with more appropriate structures, such as a version of the early log school.

The De-localized School

Today's school structure, the de-localized school, represents a complex of several interrelated characteristics which lead us to advocate its replacement by a more appropriate structure, represented here by the log school.

The de-localized school, because its design is not congruent with the local cultural configurations regarding space and appearance, essentially becomes a huge alien physical island in the community. It is not of the community, and thus seldom becomes part of the community in any meaningful sense. If the de-localized school could be transported intact to Anchorage or Seattle, no one would know that it was not simply a new school that was built there.

In the extreme, the de-localized school is occasionally designed elsewhere with total disregard for both the cultural and physical environment in which it will be situated. One Albuquerque-originated structural design that was constructed in a western Alaskan community had the roof cave in because it was flat rather than pitched -- a perfectly appropriate design for the Southwest, but not for the snow-covered North. Another installed the plumbing in the outer wall space, necessitating a complete replumbing after the first freeze-up. As an alien physical presence in the community, the school structure becomes a place where external agents require children to go for certain periods of time, generally to learn alien ways. This compartmentalization likely impinges on the eventual success of the educational activities that occur within the structure, although most current research on the relationship between the physical learning environment and learning processes is at the micro or classroom level rather than at the macro or total school structure level. The problems created by the de-localized design are exacerbated by the use of non-local or imported materials in the construction of the school. In fact, the de-localized design emanates from the architect/engineer's conversance with the most modern materials available. The metal, fiber glass, glass, plastic and processed lumber are the sine qua non of the design. Unfortunately, these materials have several drawbacks in the North: they are incredibly expensive because of transportation costs necessary to import them; they often are not suited to the extremes of the northern physical environment; and they create a sensory world that, in conjunction with their spatial arrangement, is usually the antithesis of the child's everyday out-of-school world. These conditions further exacerbate the perceptual distinction between the "alien" and the "normal" in the child's and the community's perception. One study described the school's presence in an Alaskan village as follows:

> The total presence of the BIA school -- its compound, staff, and technology -- provides its educational impact on the village. As observed, the school plant is a model of White perfection which constantly contrasts with the tattered and weather-beaten Eskimo habitations. Each school has its maintenance workshop and ultramodern diesel light plant that runs continuously. Each school has a kitchen and a multi-purpose room where hot lunches are served or bingo games held for the village on special evenings. The kitchen staff members wear uniforms and waitress-type hats and observe ultra-hygienic routines (Collier, 1973:64).

Another important characteristic of the de-localized school is its construction by imported laborers. The rationale for this often revolves around the fact that these individuals are the most familiar with the design, technology and materials being utilized, which are usually external to the community. In most cases, the use of large numbers of imported laborers is unwarranted because there is a large skill inventory among local individuals. However, imported laborers are utilized to construct the imported school; consequently, the de-localized school also becomes a source and symbol of economic discrimation in communities that have few opportunities for wage employment. Whether or not this general process -- external design, materials and labor -- contributes to the alienation found in many northern communities remains to be answered. We cannot envision how it can be a positive feature in terms of education and/or the quality of life.

A concomitant outcome of the de-localized design is a physical plant whose internal electrical, heating, water and sewer systems are the epitome of a highly complex, de-localized technology. These systems, however, are costly to install because of their sophisticated design and the fact that they must be imported. Secondly, they are extremely difficult and expensive to maintain because they require highly trained technicians and the availability of highly complex component parts, neither of which can be regularly found in the small northern community. For example, many rural Alaskan school districts have had to employ full-time itinerant maintenance personnel just to keep the complex systems functioning. Given the extreme physical environment, it is not uncommon for schools to have serious problems and be without one or more of the complex systems for long periods of time.

An increasingly critical feature of these systems is that they have been designed to be totally dependent on an external energy source -- fuel oil. The ubiquitous diesel generator and oil furnace are the mainstays of the de-localized system. Since huge amounts of oil must be imported into the community to operate the systems, the fact that this oil is becoming prohibitively expensive has caused a severe financial drain on many rural school districts in the North. And, for those school districts in Alaska that are purchasing electrical power from the Alaska Village Electrical Cooperative system, the problem is even more severe because of an incredibly high rate structure that reflects the cost of imported oil, the expense of managing and operating a complex statewide system, and the difficulties involved in collecting on expensive services from users in economically depressed areas. Clearly, the de-localized school will only operate if the de-localized ingredients are readily and inexpensively available -- a condition that is very uncertain at the present time.

What, then, are the real issues related to this de-localized "bigger and better" school? First, we argue that the de-localized school is not a culturally appropriate structure in that its design and materials are not compatible with ". . . the sociocultural patterns, goals, values, and circumstances characteristic of the (local) population" (Harding, 1979:4). Secondly, we believe the de-localized school is technologically inappropriate in that it does not:

> . . . take form at a scale sufficiently small so that an individual could control it, sufficiently simple so that an individual could comprehend it, and sufficiently approachable so that an individual could fix it . . . (Sale, 1980:157).

Third, the de-localized school is simply economically inappropriate and unjustifiable in today's world when viewed from the escalating cost of its design, materials, labor, maintenance and operation. Fourth, the cultural and technological inappropriateness of the de-localized school forms an alien physical and symbolic environment which detracts from, rather than enhances, the educational processes in the local community. In sum, the present de-localized school is contrary to Sale's humanscale technology that "would attempt to adapt itself to the immediate local surroundings, using local materials and energy sources, matching itself to local climates, meshing with local customs and cultures . . . (Sale, 1980:158).

The Physical Educational Environment

The definition of an educational environment depends on one's methodological and/or theoretical orientation. As we have mentioned, the most common educational environment discussed by researchers is that of the individual classroom. This work suggests that there is a need for educators and school architects to explore the design and operation of alternative classroom environments in order to maximize the learning opportunities for children (e.g., Taylor and Vlastos, 1975). The open classroom and learning station approaches are but two examples of alterations of the physical environment of the classroom that provide varied learning opportunities. Others have focused on the total internal spatial configuration of the school structure and have advocated its redesign to maximize learning.

By extending this line of reasoning, one could argue, as we do, that the design of the overall physical environment of the school structure has a bearing on educational outcomes, particularly in small northern communities where the school starkly contrasts with the local physical and cultural landscape. While there appears to be little research to support this argument, there are some isolated cases that do seem to address, at least in part, this issue. For example, the design team for a Navajo school/community center attempted to ". . . determine how structures should be built and how space should be structured so as to be both culturally appropriate and preferable to the potential users . . ." so that the structure ". . . will be maximally appropriate and preferred by those who wish to make use of that service or building while at the same time creating the minimum amount of negative reaction against it" (Harding, 1979:4). Such a compatible physical environment becomes all the more necessary as we see an increasing emphasis on more culturally appropriate curriculum content and teaching practices in the schools serving northern Native communities. Again, we can refer to the Navajo experience:

> . . . new educational programs geared to the unique problems of Navajo children are currently being implemented by the Navajo Tribe. Old methods of teaching are being challenged by newer and more responsive methods directly related to this unique cultural group. Any attempt to house these new educational programs in inappropriate facilities is to undermine their value at best, to insure their failure at worst. To plan future schools on the Navajo Nation without implementation of cultural criteria would be irresponsible planning policy. It can be accomplished now -- self-determination demands it (Taylor, 1979:54).

As we have indicated, we do not feel that the current de-localized, monolithic school is the appropriate or preferred physical educational environment for small northern communities. Thus, we advocate its replacement by an alternative physical educational environment, such as the log school -- a human-scale environment that ". . . would enhance the human users rather than alienate them, make them feel good rather than exploited, satisfy rather than frustrate the innate human desire for accomplishment and achievement . . ." (Sale, 1980:157). It is this emphasis on "users"' needs that underlies our argument, so let us look more carefully at their role in the design process.

User Participation in School Design

Since 1976, when the State of Alaska agreed, in response to a lawsuit, to provide a high school program in any community that desired one, numerous new school facilities -- $133 million worth -- have sprung up throughout the rural areas of the state. Though the "consent decree" agreed to by the State stipulated extensive community participation in the planning and design process, most of the schools were built on a hurried time schedule with little opportunity provided for the serious consideration of realistic alternatives to the conventional monolithic, de-localized school structure. Evidence of the lack of local adaptation in the design process is reflected in the striking similarities in the basic design features of these new schools across a wide variety of physical and cultural environments. While this may be convenient for the architects, engineers, builders and administrators, it may also result in some social, economic and educational costs that, in the long run, are unacceptable. As one principal put it in a recent report:

> Each community wants the best school possible for their children, a very human desire. The architect works with the community to be sure the very top dollar amount allowed by state regulations are reached. Gymnasiums, swimming pools, automatic this and futuristic that are designed in, generally without a manual bypass. In a year the automatic does not work or requires special service personnel to be brought in from Anchorage or Fairbanks, occasionally from the "South 48." In most cases schools are already pushing the limit of available operational monies. The question is already being asked in many places, where will the money come from to operate these physical plants? (Barnhardt, et al., 1979: 15).

The consequences of this standardized approach to school design has been a constant series of headaches for local school and community personnel. For example, in one district, ten out of twelve village principals cited maintenance difficulties as the main problem facing them in their new schools. They listed problems such as chopping ice for water because the elaborate water system had frozen where pipes were placed next to exterior walls, hauling sewage in buckets because the disposal system had a mechanical breakdown, and removing snow where it was blowing through cracks and drifting across entrances because the school had been positioned contrary to prevailing wind patterns. These schools were not designed with local conditions in mind.

How then might we better approach the design of new schools, and prepare for the inevitable retrofitting process that will be required of the current schools, to help assure more appropriate designs in the future? We can start by paying some attention to the notion of "user participation" in planning and design processes. Anne Taylor, in working on school design for the Navajo, has indicated that:

> Anglo architects, as long as they are designing for non-Anglos, must develop meaningful methods for user involvement in the design process. Employing participation and criteria from the 'users' in the design process of future schools is urgently needed in order to arrive at school facilities that are more reflective of and responsive to the cultural environment of the Navajo (Taylor, 1979:9).

"User participation" is not simply a matter of conducting a needs assessment, or presenting a prepared plan to a school board for review. It is a much more ambiguous and time-consuming process, and it requires a rethinking of some of the basic assumptions that we carry with us into a design situation. Taylor's perspective on architecture provides an example.

> There is much to learn from architecture before it became an 'experts'' art. The 'untaught' builders throughout time demonstrated the ability to construct culturally relevant structures which fit into the natural surroundings. Instead of trying to conquer nature, as western architects in the recent past have done, they worked within, and adapted to, the geographical climate and topography of their surroundings. The buildings also reflected the religion, and worldview of the 'designers.' Unfortunately, yet understandably, most modern architects are ignorant of the life style and social norms of different cultures; trouble results when architects are ascribed an inherent insight into the basic problems of living, regardless of the cultural context. The success of the non-professional design in various cultures, past and present, depends on the harmonious relationship with the social, religious and economic system from which the design and builder are inseparable. This concern of harmony must take priority over the problems of business and prestige if the modern architect is to produce a solution as appropriate to specific cultures as the traditional 'non-architects' have in the past (Taylor, 1979:8).

If users are to be participants in the design process, we must keep in mind the fact that they too have been conditioned to think in certain ways and thus cannot be expected to produce bold, new and innovative designs within a conventional western architectural planning and design framework. They can, however, be recognized as the possessors of useful traditional knowledge, which, when combined with appropriate design processes, can produce locally unique as well as culturally and environmentally adaptive structures. The indigenous Native populations of the North, who have survived in and adapted to the demanding conditions of a harsh climate for centuries, should be recognized as uniquely knowledgeable in appropriate design and technology for the northern environment. The "longhouses" of the Northwest coast Indians were often architectural and aesthetic marvels of immense size and strength, yet they utilized only those sources of energy and materials that were available from the immediate environment. The Eskimo sod houses required only small amounts of oil, derived as a by-product of the seal hunt, to maintain a comfortable inside temperature, even in the most severe storms. And all of this occurred without the benefit of an architectural or engineering degree, or any formal training in "appropriate technology" or "alternate energy."

If users in northern communities are to be useful contributors to the design of buildings for those communities, we must first learn to appreciate the value of their traditional knowledge, and then we must find ways to tap into that knowledge and incorporate it into the building design and construction process. Only by involving the users in this process, can we expect to reverse the thrust toward de-localization that current approaches foster. One way to increase the level of user participation is to broaden the array of options that a community might consider in the design and construction of a new facility. Exposure to diverse approaches to a design problem and a cooperative analysis of the potential consequences can help both professional designers break out of conventional design patterns and remove some of the constraints on innovative thought. At the same time, a close look at the value system and assumptions against which design options are being judged will be necessary to assure that mutually agreed-upon criteria are being utilized. If the professional designer is using one set of standards to judge an option, and the user another, the end result will be satisfactory to no one. If the two are working closely together with a commonly agreed-upon set of assumptions, the end result is more likely to accomplish the purpose for which it is intended.

Where one of the purposes of a design for a given population is to minimize the de-localization processes described earlier, options must be considered that also reduce the local dependence on "resources, information flow and socioeconomic linkages with systems of energy and resources outside their particular area" (Pelto, 1975:31). By working together, designers and users can better determine which options will best meet the needs of a particular community and produce a design that minimizes external dependencies and fosters a sense of ownership that allows people to say, "this is our school."

With these views of de-localization and user participation in mind, we turn now to an examination of the log school as an illustration of a culturally, environmentally and economically appropriate design and building process.

The Log School: A Localized Alternative

Log construction is a long-standing tradition in the North.

Log cabins have been the mainstay of housing construction in many communities and continue to be accorded a prominent place in the mystique of the North, though high costs and uncertain insulating qualities have somewhat reduced their attractiveness in the populated areas where other materials are more readily available. The log school is not a new phenomenon in the North either. Many of the early schools built in the villages of Alaska were of log construction, and some are still in use. The Yukon Territory, Siberia, and the Scandinavian countries are similarly adorned with log school structures. Why then, are so few new schools being constructed of log materials? The experience of one Alaskan community may help us answer that question.

As new high school facilities have been designed for the 126 rural Alaskan villages named in the 1976 Consent Decree, architects and school planners have been required to solicit the ideas and concerns of the communities involved. The village of Spruce Creek (a pseudonym) was visited for that purpose by an architect who had been contracted by the regional school district to design the new school for the village. Spruce Creek residents had requested that a high school be built, and they had some definite ideas about what they wanted. The architect arrived on the scene unannounced and requested a meeting with the local Community School Committee (CSC). He explained his purpose for coming to Spruce Creek and indicated that he needed their approval to proceed with the development of a school design. CSC members expressed their desire to have the school built from local log materials since nearly all of the homes in the community were built of logs, and they asked that a wood-fired heating system be installed because the village had experienced a shortage of fuel oil in the past, and they did not want to compound the potential problems in the future. They were aware of a similar structure and heating system in a comparable community in the Yukon Territory, and thus knew that their request was feasible.

The architect then proceeded to review the criteria that he was required to adhere to in terms of building codes and health and fire safety standards. He also pointed out the timeline that he would have to meet if the materials were to be ordered in time to be delivered on the spring barge so that full advantage could be taken of the short construction season. Given these constraints, he suggested that the CSC might want to look at some of the prototype designs that he had brought with him and, if they chose a design that fit the prototype, he might be able to get them a school by the following year. The CSC members patiently listened to the architect and then pointed out that with a log school the bulk of the structural materials would be local logs that they themselves could gather as a source of employment, thus relieving the pressure to get materials on the spring barge. They remained adamant in their desire for a log design, so the architect reluctantly agreed to consider their views and left with the understanding that he would return with an initial design for their review.

When the architect finally returned, nearly two months later, he brought a design that did reflect some of the floor plan suggestions of the CSC, but the structure was still of standard frame design -- not the logs that had been requested. He indicated that it would be difficult to obtain insurance coverage for a log structure and therefore had proceeded on the basis of the prototype he had presented earlier. CSC members indicated that they still wanted to pursue a log design and asked that an optional design be presented to them. After the architect left, they checked with an insurance company and found that insurance was indeed available for log structures, although it was slightly more expensive because partial damage to such a structure was more difficult to repair. They conveyed this information to the district office. That was the last they heard of their request until they found out after the next board meeting that the architect's original design had been approved and they would be receiving a standard frame school in their community.

This case illustration presents the de-localization process in action. A community that was trying to establish an appropriate school design that would utilize local resources and labor and reduce the dependency on external energy sources was overridden by the pressures of a system of unaccommodating generalized standards and timelines. The end result was a school that appeared out of context in the village setting, and presented an uninviting atmosphere for community residents. The implicit message of the antiseptic environment was one of preserving the purity and character of the facility, regardless of how alien it was, and thus tended to inhibit attendance and participation in school affairs. Community members had only secondary roles in the construction process, with external labor brought in to install some of the systems that required specialized expertise. An oil-fired heating system was installed which increased the dependency on external energy resources. And the decision-making process pretty well ignored the wishes of the user population. Spruce Creek once again was a victim of de-localization.

Although Spruce Creek was not successful in its bid to obtain a localized log structure for their school, other communities have had some success in getting approval for log designs. A government-sponsored housing project in one small community in Alaska incorporated local logs in the construction of twenty new homes, but then utilized a single standard design and lined them up in a row so that they looked as though they are on a military base. Another community is in the process of building a log structure to house university programs in the area. A small community in the Yukon Territory insisted, despite government resistance, on replacing the log school that burned down with a similar structure and on maintaining wood as the primary source of heat. Not only was wood available locally, its use provided ongoing employment for several members of the community. Log schools are a reasonable alternative for many communities who wish to maintain some measure of control over their own affairs. They offer a physically, technologically and economically appropriate alternative to the de-localized model described earlier. In addition, they provide a more congenial and unobtrusive environment in which education and other community functions can be carried out.

Log schools provide but one example of how the de-localization process can be counteracted and more energy efficient and environmentally appropriate designs provided for northern communities. They make use of locally available materials, thus encouraging the use of local labor skills that are especially adapted to those materials. Maintenance and upkeep is less of a problem since the resources and skills are, again, readily available. User participation in all levels of planning, design, construction and maintenance is enhanced by local familiarity with and interest in the processes involved. Consequently, the sense of external dependency is decreased and the process of de-localization is curtailed. The result is an approach and structure that resonates well with local life processes.

Many communities, particularly in the northern coastal areas, do not have immediate access to logs, so log structures do not provide a very practical alternative for them unless the logs are imported, which of course negates the purpose. Let us look, therefore, at some variations on the log school concept that might be considered in the pursuit of localized alternatives. Since one of the purposes of this approach is to decrease dependency on external resources, any design feature that conserves energy and incorporates locally appropriate technology contributes to that purpose. We will touch on a few such features here for illustrative purposes.

One of the most important elements in any northern structure is the heating system. Oil is still the basic fuel for most schools in Alaska, but its escalating cost has caused several communities and districts to begin looking for alternatives. The most readily available alternative is conservation. Some schools are adding arctic entries and replacing windows on north-facing walls with insulated panels to reduce heat loss. Others are diverting the exhaust from the nearby diesel generator into a heat exchanger in the school building and thus reducing the heat bill. Still others are conducting energy audits to determine the most efficient means to utilize available energy. All of these represent attempts to retrofit existing structures to conserve energy that is otherwise wasted.

Consideration might also be given, in the design of new structures, to incorporating variations on the Eskimo sod house. New techniques for earth-sheltered structures have been developed, such that locations with a favorable topography could build a school partially underground or into a hillside and make use of the natural protection of the earth. This would reduce the amount of wall space exposed to the elements and thus reduce the energy demand. Earth can also be used inside the school in the form of plant beds, which can double as heat sinks and as teaching devices. This return to earth materials for construction purposes has been gaining attention in the Southwest United States as well, where the efficacy of adobe -- "one of the oldest building materials in existence" -- is being systematically reevaluated by a joint State-Federal study ("Adobe getting a second look from builders," Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, 12/24/80:5).

Wood is another cheap and readily available alternative to fuel oil in many northern communities. Even if local timber is not of sufficient size and quality to be used for building logs, it can still be used for heating. Techniques available for using wood for heat range all the way from the ubiquitous barrel stove to elaborate dual, oil-and wood-fired boiler systems. With the latter, wood can be used to heat just about any building size or configuration. One village in northern Alaska is planning to heat the school by converting poor-quality wood into chips for more efficient burning. Wood heat goes especially well with log structures because the mass of the logs stores heat and helps maintain even temperatures when the fire burns low. With proper concern for safety in the design and installation process, wood (as well as coal) can serve as a ready replacement for, or supplement to, fuel oil.

The second most critical energy medium in the school is electricity, which again is derived from fuel oil through the use of diesel generators. While reduction in consumption through energy-conserving measures is the easiest step that can be taken to reduce dependency, other generating alternatives are available, depending on the location. Coastal areas with an ample supply of wind can supplement their supply through the use of wind generators. This energy source is already being used to power National

Guard armories in several locations. One village in the interior of Alaska is testing the use of a wood-gasification system to generate electricity. Small-scale hydropower has been in use in some communities for many years. The technologies are available but more consideration must be given to their application on a more human, community-oriented scale.

Other systems for school structures in a northern environment that call for special consideration are the water and sewage disposal systems. Water systems should be built to match supply and use, and should be designed to minimize maintenance difficulty, taking into account the worst possible conditions. Water storage tanks can be incorporated in the school structure as heat sinks. Sewage systems can be designed to provide the community with fertilizer or gas through the use of humus toilets or methane plants. Grey water can be used for flushing the toilets. All of the subsystems that make up a school structure should be integrated in a way that they reinforce one another and contribute to a common energy system.

It is not necessary, however, that schools be designed as monolithic structures requiring complex, large-scale systems. In fact, smaller building units that can be dispersed around the community may be more appropriate to a localized design than a single, massive complex. Smaller units would be less obtrusive in the community environment; their reduced size would pose less fire danger; they could convey a social atmosphere more compatible with that of the home; they could be designed on a scale that would take advantage of local materials and expertise; and they could be more readily adapted for other community functions without having to maintain a massive system. In addition to size, the positioning of a building is an important consideration in a localized design for the northern environment, because wind and snow can have a major impact on the ability to maintain the building in a usable manner. It is not uncommon for snow drifts to completely cover the entrances of improperly situated buildings. Again, the best sources of information on these matters are the community members who have learned to adapt to the local conditions.

Given the tenuous transportation and communication links between northern communities, schools must be built to match the environment and draw as much as possible on locally available materials, expertise, and energy sources. External support systems cannot be relied upon in the northern environment. Communities must be self-reliant and self-sufficient to a much greater degree than communities in a more temperate environment.

We have attempted to show that it is indeed possible to provide culturally and environmentally appropriate structures for schools in a northern environment. We have focused on the log school to illustrate our point, and we have described how a more localized approach to the design, construction, and operation of schools can provide many benefits, not the least of which is a reduction in the dependency of those communities on external resources and expertise. It is our view that all of this will lead to a more productive environment for education and other vital processes in northern communities.

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Part II

Educational Development Issues

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PSYCHOLOGY OF CULTURE CHANGE AND EDUCATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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(Ed. note: This is a revision of a paper presented in 1979 to the Alberta government's ministerial committee on Native peoples' education.)

Introduction

The current level of education in Canada's northern Native population is generally below national norms and far below the level required to ensure adequate benefit from the many employment opportunities likely to become available through northern development in the next few decades. Not only will there be jobs directly related to energy resource development projects, there also will be a general increase in population and new economic activity in a host of affiliated areas. Unless a concerted effort is made to prepare northern people to take advantage of these opportunities, most new activity is likely to benefit the few who are already educated, or will be taken up by outsiders drawn north by the promise of employment. Native residents will probably remain at the lower levels of the socio-economic ladder.

Although the focus of this paper is related specifically to education for employment arising from impending industrial development in the north, it is not limited to this relatively narrow area. It is not enough to speak only of the training of Native peoples for jobs in industry. If education in its broadest sense means the general uplifting of the quality of life in the community, we must address ourselves to more than the strictly economic, employment-related aspects of man. Education that is to benefit the community as a whole must provide skills to help each of us enrich our lives on many levels, and must address a range of human characteristics and needs that reach deeper and broader than those usually found in employment-focused training programs.

Consequently, although there is a definite need for education that will improve Native peoples' economic circumstances and enable them to participate in jobs arising from development-related projects, this broader perspective must be the context within which such education is considered.

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Efforts are underway in many countries to assist people from traditional cultures to make a satisfactory transition to contemporary social and technological realities. However, in northern Canada, part of one of the world's most affluent nations, the government seems to have great difficulty in establishing programs which make wide-spread and significant improvements in Native peoples' well-being. Years of expenditure of massive sums of public dollars in education and social adjustment programs have not produced the expected results.

There doesn't appear to be a simple method for resolving the many problems in this general area. Over the years, many attempts have been made to address this issue in Canada and, in a broader perspective, in the international development arena. The purpose of this paper is to present my tentative and partially-formulated views as a contribution to what will hopefully be a continuing deliberation of this important issue.

Education and Cultural Change

Education has been described as a goal-oriented activity in a particular cultural context (Spindler, 1963). It is clear that the issue of education for economic development involves cultural transmission and cultural change. If society hopes to provide meaningful education so that Native northerners can benefit from the massive economic activity foreseen for the north and contribute to the well-being and diversity of the community at large, an educational bridge must be built between two cultures -- the Native traditional patterns on the one hand, and the dominant, pragmatic, efficiency-oriented, marked-economy culture that pervades contemporary western society on the other.

Bridges are usually built from both sides of the gulf they are intended to span. Education is required for both groups. Unless the dominant sector is willing to undergo changes in outlook comparable in scale to those so clearly called for by the educational programs proposed for the Native sector, the result is likely to remain an inadequate accommodation of the weaker party to the inflexible attitudes and expectations of the other.

A course of action must be taken to cause potential employers to look beyond customary patterns of operation and to adjust hiring practices to benefit all sectors of the northern population. Unless legislative imperatives compel employers to shift in this direction, industrial development is likely to focus clearly on the maximum utilization of available resources (including manpower) as measured by efficiency and profit criteria. The social costs of this economic activity are likely to be ignored. These will presumably be picked up by government through its various health, social service, and justice or corrections agencies. Industry must begin to examine and re-evaluate the practices and habits of thought to which they have become accustomed, and, in so doing, begin to become aware of their own culture and the cultures of others.

Most of us are largely unaware of our own culture (Hall, 1977). We have habits and thought patterns that are distinctive products of our own upbringing, and we deal with the world in the manner to which we have become accustomed over the years. We assess and understand our experience through complex "structures of meaning" that form the basis of our "psychological framework" (Marris, 1975 and Schumacher, 1974). These concepts are essential ingredients to be considered in planning education programs for societies undergoing cultural change.

We seem to live by a complex set of largely invisible "rules" which we acquire as we mature. We become aware of these rules most frequently when they are "broken," i.e., when things don't fit our accepted or accustomed patterns of behavior. Examples of this sort of invisible psychological framework can be illustrated in the customs of etiquette related to eating and other appropriate mealtime behavior. When a guest belches loudly following a hearty meal he is, to most people in the dominant North American culture, committing a gross breach of etiquette. Some Canadians would consider the guest who belched to be socially inferior or generally "ill-bred," and would establish a whole set of patterns of behavior for future interaction with him on that basis. He's breaking the rules we've been taught in our society. It has been noted, however, that in certain eastern cultures the *lack* of such a loud belch would be a comparable breach of etiquette, and would cause as much consternation in the hosts as a Canadian's belch would cause in a dining room in Ottowa.

One example of the process of attaching value or meaning to others' behavior from our expectations, or psychological framework, is illustrated by circumstances seen in the pre-revolution relationship between North American and Iranian businessmen and officials (Hall, 1977). The Iranian education system apparently placed great importance on being able to memorize and recite word-for-word at length from relevant textbooks, manuals, product descriptions, and ordinances, as the occasion demands. The ability to memorize and retain vast amounts of information is the mark of a competent, well-educated person. When American businessmen don't manifest these traits, they are often intially considered inferior by the Iranians. By Iranian standards they probably are, but are Iranian standards necessarily valid in all circumstances? In order to work together in harmony it is necessary for participants in a transaction to recognize that their own sets of rules, their ways of assessing and attributing value to behavior or events, aren't the only valid ways to view the world. The Iranians (and their North American counterparts) must see that their culturally-determined, complex psychological system must be tempered to accommodate varying cultural patterns if they're to have compatible relationships with their foreign colleagues.

All societies have similar culture-specific psychological processes which play significant roles in relationships among people from different cultural groups. Educational programs for both parties involved in northern development must, if they are to succeed in efforts to bridge the cultural gap across the north, be soundly based on a clear appreciation of this fundamentally psychological nature of culture, and must bear this aspect in mind when dealing with education which involves changes in culture.

Factors in Education for Culture Change and Development

The educational needs of northern residents cover the whole spectrum of courses and topics offered by most institutions in the country. An affirmative-action oriented education program for economic development implies training for all levels in industry, from basic trades to middle and senior management positions, as well as the full range of specializations required in other developed societies. This paper won't specify courses to be offered, for this will emerge from the manpower needs of various sectors of the economy. Rather, it will focus on some aspects which are necessary to bear in mind as programs are planned and implemented, regardless of the subject being taught.

Culture, Learner Characteristics, and Instructional Design

All educational activity embodies, whether explicitly stated or not, an instructional design process. Instructional design is a planning process comprised of at least three major components which, simply put, can be termed a beginning, a middle, and an end. An instructor has a notion of where he'd like to take his students (the end, the learning goal or instructional objective); he makes an assessment of where students already are (the beginning, or assessment of learner characteristics); and then he devises some sort of structured experience to have students interact with the subject matter in order to acquire the desired degree of exposure or competence (the middle, the learning process or means of instruction).

As stated at the outset, education can be perceived as a goal-oriented activity within a particular cultural context.

Each of these three components of instructional design is influenced by culture, especially that of the instructor. An instructor defines educational outcomes in terms of his own culture's perspective. He makes assumptions about students' learning characteristics based upon his accustomed thought processes, and he structures educational experiences from notions rooted in his particular way of viewing the world.

The education of Native people has (sometimes by design, but, I suspect, largely by default) subjected Indian students to an educational system rooted in the Western European, Judeao-Christian tradition. The implicit goals of this system have been and continue to be to indoctrinate students into an industrialized middle-class lifestyle, including wage employment in the market economy (Freire, 1970; Ogbu, 1979; Wilding and George, 1976). The social and economic reality of Native communities, however, make students' achievement of these implicit and pervasive goals unattainable at home.

Native values, which have been developed over centuries of a subsistence lifestyle with a rich spiritual and social tradition, are very different from contemporary industralized society's norms. It has been shown that education or social change activities based on values and beliefs which are at variance with community norms are destructive to community well-being and will tend to make people want to leave their communities (Goodenough, 1963). Because most northern education systems embody values vastly different from those of the communities in which they operate, they tend to exacerbate problems arising from cultural discontinuity. Several factors arise from the fundamental incompatibility of the values (or culture) embodied in the education system with those in the students' home life. There have been suggestions that the so-called "cross-over effect," where Native students' age/grade relationships fall below those for non-Native students, is related to this incompatibility of values (Bryde, 1970). Native students become intuitively aware of this fundamental contradiction of cultures at various ages, but usually at the time they are developing a self-concept and identity. This awareness may contribute to a progressive withdrawal of emotional investment and a lessening of desire to learn from the school.

Native youth develop their personal psychological structure of meaning from the same source we all do, i.e., from the world seen about them every day and from their family and community. The "foreign world" they can dimly perceive through the behavior and exhortations of their teachers and the books used in school is not adequate to completely sustain their desire for an explanation of reality and a code to live by. But their home environment is also insufficient to completely provide for their desire to achieve a sense of identity, for it, too, is in a state of flux, with its fundamental patterns becoming progressively more removed from their traditional source and heavily influenced by contemporary economic and technological factors. Even Indian religion has diminished as a source of guidance and community stability as various other faiths have become established in Native communities. Thus, Native students are exposed to two often-conflicting value systems. Although these students attempt to base their personality and identity upon a blending of both, they are unable to rely on this combination of systems to form a coherent personal structure of meaning. In the process they also find it difficult to acquire a basic education sufficient to provide them with avenues to attain the economic resources needed to succeed in the world at large, so their range of options from which to select (or evolve) a lifestyle is severely limited.

Some improvements have been attempted, however, and have taken various forms. Recent developments which involve communities in controlling their own education are progressing, but are facing massive problems on several fronts. Few Native-controlled schools operate on values significantly different from those found in the dominant public school system. Even those schools controlled by Native communities and employing Native teachers have to contend with the methods and values acquired by their staff during their training in the mainstream cultural milieu of urban university-based teacher education programs. Regardless of public statements to the contrary, the implicit goal of most universities' Native teacher education programs is to help Native students acquire those values and competencies considered the norm on campus. Even Native instructors, then, are likely to conduct their classes in a manner conducive to having students acquire mainstream cultural values, those values which also underline the contemporary economic system. The content of instruction, which is often confined strictly to a curriculum determined by the state authority, rarely relates to helping students make the psychological adjustments faced in coping with the contradictory value systems they deal with in everyday life.

Ambivalence, Accommodation and Values in Education

Native cultures in North America (and traditional cultures throughout the world) are undergoing a major cultural transition, and most Native students and adults have personality characteristics which embody a profoundly ambivalent values base. Many are in the process of slowly establishing a distinctly Native identity which is consistent with the fundamental life-purposes of their forefathers, but which, at the same time, foster harmonious interaction with the contemporary western social system. In this process of progressive accommodation to new forms of articulation of these formerly prevalent and clearly articulated values and principles, individuals often experience a sense of loss, a psychological disorientation that only slowly gains stability and definition as the ambivalence diminishes.

Many Native adults currently active in Indian organizations have told this author that at one time they tried to live in an urban, middle-class lifestyle, adopting those values as their own. After a time they had lost their sense of authenticity. Although they didn't have a clear idea of how to go about clarifying their confusion and feelings of disorientation, they knew they couldn't accomplish it in the city. Only by returning to a more familiar environment could they begin to re-establish the tentative roots of a solid identity by reasserting their connection with the culture of their forefathers. Initially, although many weren't fully accepted by the rest of the community, and didn't feel quite at home there themselves, over the years they progressively worked through the dualities and contradictions in their own value systems. They slowly developed a sense of belonging, and in the process defined a contemporary Native identity which is consistent with the spiritual and social ideals of their ancestors.

A culturally insensitive or ethnocentric educational process will, however, assume by default that students are firmly established in, and ready to function within, an exclusively mainstream cultural context. This often isn't so, and systems which don't have structural means to assist students to work through and attain some sense of continuity with traditional value systems will not be able to attract the whole-hearted participation of these students.

The Native students I've worked with have occupied value stances at various stages on a cultural continuum. Some have been very "traditional," some have completely accommodated themselves to the dominant value system, and others have apparently worked things through and succeeded in achieving a harmonious blending of both cultures. There also are varying degrees of equanimity, security and self-confidence with the current stage of definition of personal ethnicity. Returning to school is sometimes an opportunity (often unanticipated) for the clarification and adjustment of such personal value systems. There has been a marked lack of consensus on this issue with Native groups I've encountered, and a great deal of emotional involvement and heated discussion as these issues are worked through to individually acceptable degrees of resolution. The "Who am I, what kind of an Indian am I?" type of question seems to need some sort of adequate response before students can focus their energies on further studies or community projects. Any group of adult Native students is likely to manifest this sort of diversity, and it is the challenging task of an educator to design a learning environment which meets the needs of this broad range of cultural perspectives.

Some work has been done in developing curriculum materials which are based on Native values and which reinforce the validity of traditional culture. Most of this work has been at the elementary school level; exceptions are the University of Alaska's X-CED Program at Fairbanks (Barnhardt, 1977) and the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College in Saskatoon. The variety and complexity of post-secondary education has made efforts in that area relatively insignificant. The work involved in producing a full range of post-secondary education materials with a Native rather than a mainstream cultural base is overwhelming, especially when one considers the question of which Native culture we wish to address. There are dozens in Canada alone. It is possible to provide relevant and useful instruction in specific course areas, even from a solid ethnocentric mainstream value base, if, at the same time, opportunities are provided for students to work through the cultural ambivalences in themselves and in the group. This process can't be directed by a non-Native instructor or administrator, but it is possible to incorporate skilled Native staff in the program, and to develop organizational and administrative structures which create conditions to foster this process. It isn't enough to have a "Native counselor" on staff in a mainstream school run by non-Natives. It is equally insufficient to have Native-controlled schools ignore this level of need among students and, as a result, fail to help with the resolution of this issue.

The conditions necessary to reduce students' cultural ambiguity require the establishment of institution-wide interpersonal norms which stress trust, honesty, and acceptance of diversity. These must be coupled with early instruction for all students and staff in interpersonal communication and self-awareness skills, as well as exposure to structured group experiences designed to overcome shyness and mistrust. The fields of organization development and cross-cultural group dynamics have theoretical perspectives and competent professionals available for planning and implementing relevant educational systems with these characteristics.

Thus far in this section I have commented on the cultural factors implicit in instructional design and demonstrated that the characteristics of Native students require that the learning process be structured to provide opportunities for culture change factors to be worked through. While a bicultural approach to all factors in an instructional design process is preferable, success is possible with ethnocentric instruction if the context of education provides opportunities for students to clarify their personal structures of meaning and to work out their own cultural ambiguities in an atmosphere of trust, mutual support, and cooperation. Many other factors relate to this complex issue -- two of these follow.

The Legacy of Colonialism and Poverty

Some related factors influencing Native education arise from students' families having spent generations in a colonized society and in a poverty-ridden environment. The attributes of a colonized people are well described in the literature and need not be elaborated here (Freire, 1970; Goode, 1963, 1970). It is important for success in educational programming for this population that planners are aware of the stages a people go through in the transition from colonialism to self-determination, and that programs be devised which meet the needs of students at the position they currently occupy on that continuum. This will vary from one student group to another and in various Native communities.

The atmosphere of chronic economic depression prevalent in many Native communities complicates matters still further. Attitudes toward work and financial affairs have been shaped over the years by a hopeless inadequacy of financial resources and generations of reliance on an external economic system. Critics of adult education have long claimed that the profession seems congenitally incapable of providing services to this sector of the population, the people who probably are most in need of such education. Experiments with guaranteed family income projects seem to show that education must be coupled with concrete financial improvements if these chronic economic conditions are to change.

Education, Ethnocentrism, and Social Policy

Native people aren't the only group in Canadian society experiencing difficulty in gaining access to education and other services. The rising chorus of dissent from other so-called disadvantaged groups, the disabled, the blind, single parents, and others, indicates that the social policy in this country tends to serve some sectors of the population better than others. Our legislators and senior civil servants typically come from the affluent middle-class sector of the population. They, like their cultural counterparts, businessmen, see the world through the perceptual frameworks provided by their culture. They inevitably draft policy to conform with these norms, and as a result often fail to accommodate the needs (or perceptions) of those with different needs or points of view. However, the calling of various commissions of inquiry into Native well-being indicates that those in power are interested in the needs of this disadvantaged sector. This is laudable, but is in itself not enough to ensure that the peoples' needs are adequately met by new policies. Representatives of groups not usually represented should have mandated positions at the policy-making and decision-making levels of government or public service for that sector. Regardless of the good intentions of traditional policymakers, unless meaningful involvement of these representatives from other groups is secured at all levels, the ethnocentrism inherent in current practices is not likely to diminish.

Enriching the Community

It seems inevitable that the massive influx of economic activity foreseen for the north will irrevocably alter the value systems and lifestyles of its inhabitants. Industrial jobs will become available, and those who have long been unemployed will seek them. If they are to succeed in obtaining and retaining jobs, they'll have to acquire "attitudes conducive to employment," or, in other words, undergo cultural change. Education systems should prepare people to live and work in this environment. They also should attempt to provide a broad basis for lifestyle and personality development which is based on the strengths and the richness of students' traditions and heritage. This will subsequently broaden the range of options from which to choose a way of life.

Even a trades-oriented education system can embody a worldview more extensive than the specific job that lies ahead. We must build into our planning a perspective wide enough to avoid the mindlessness and soul-deadening job-focus seen in so many northern factory towns and mining camps. If we assist the student in a reconciliation of both new and old perspectives in a new structure of meaning, and address a range of human need beyond purely utilitarian and practical job-related aspects, we stand a chance of having northern communities with color and diversity. But if these aspects aren't addressed, the lowest common denominators of society will surface as prevalent community norms, and the quality of life in the north will suffer irrevocable damage as a result of economic development projects.

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Nonformal Educational Strategies for Rural Development in Native Alaska

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This paper focuses on the relationship between rural education and development. It attempts to examine this relationship as it applies directly to the changing socio-economic conditions of an indigenous minority group whose cultural organization and traditions are different from the larger industrial society in which its members live.

I shall first describe the development context of the Alaskan Native situation with special emphasis on the emergence of new institutions, both social and economic, resulting from Native self-determination efforts. Secondly, I shall specify critical aspects of the relationship between education and development within the context of Native institution-building. I shall then describe the salient features of one proposed nonformal education strategy -- the development of a network of village-based Native youth organizations. Finally, I shall conclude with a conceptual statement on the mutually complementing functions of formal and nonformal education as illustrated by the Native youth organization proposal.

The Alaskan Native Context

The 1970s have seen the Alaskan Native community subjected to extraordinary pressures to quicken their adaptation to alien social and economic institutions of the larger American industrial. The ways of thinking and forms of human relationships implicit in these new institutions are having far-reaching, change-producing impact on the entire fabric of Alaskan Native cultural life. This is most particularly the case in rural Alaska where approximately 77 percent of the State's 60,000 Native citizens live in villages consisting of 25 to 3,000 residents, the majority of whom support themselves mainly by subsistence hunting and fishing activities supplemented by seasonal firefighting and construction work. It is not a melodramatic exaggeration to suggest that what is at stake is the future survival of a significant culture and its life style. The issue is succinctly stated in the title of a Native nonprofit corporation publication: *Does One Way of Life Have to Die so That Another can Live?* (Yupiktak Bista, 1976).

These pressures for socio-cultural change arise from a complex of recent events ranging from the emergence of Alaska as a critical petroleum-producing region to changes in the "special" relationship between the United States Government and Native American peoples. As Alaska becomes increasingly central to the formulation of both government and corporate energy policies, two resulting mineral resource development activities and concomitant growth in the State's non-Native population places considerable stress on the vital culture-sustaining link between Native subsistence land-use patterns and Native social organization. Moreover, in contrast to past periods of "termination" and "assimilation," the current era of U.S. Government relations with Native American peoples can be characterized as one of "self-determination," with the government, mainly through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, seeking to convey to local Tribal Councils and equivalent organizations large measures of policy-making and fiscal management responsibility in the areas of Native health, education, and welfare. Within this era of self-determination, the most momentous event for the Alaskan Native community has been the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) on December 18, 1971, as compensation for aboriginal land rights.

Through ANCSA, Alaskan Natives received 40 million acres of Alaskan land and 962.5 million dollars. To receive and invest this money and land in ways that collectively benefit the Native community, twelve regional Native profit-making corporations were established in different cultural/linguistic regions of Alaska. These corporations are directly accountable to their respective Native shareholder constituencies as they make capital investment, resource development, and land management decisions affecting the social, economic, and cultural conditions of these regional constituencies. Moreover, within each regional corporation boundary there exist numerous village-based corporations which receive and invest ANCSA monies and land under the guidance of the regional parent corporation.

The drive for self-determination among Alaskan Natives has also brought about the establishment of Native nonprofit corporations in the twelve regions to administer wide-ranging social service delivery programs, many of which were formerly under the control of federal and state government agencies. These nonprofit Native corporations annually administer over a hundred million dollars in education, health, employment, and other social programs. Like the profit corporations, they, too, perform strategic socio-economic planning and development functions within the Native regions of Alaska.

As with many Third and Fourth World societies, Alaskan Native institution-building must deal with a colonial legacy and the imposed development imperatives of the world-wide, political economy. The acceptance of the provisions of ANCSA by the Alaskan Native community signaled their recognition that new forms of social and economic life are essential for their survival as a culturally distinct, indigenous people. Yet at the same time they do not accept a linear theory of social change; that is, while there can be no turning back of the historical clock, it does not necessarily follow that their only development option is an institutional order imitative of the dominant Euro-American social system. And herein lies the key Native development issue: Can enduring social forms and economic-occupational structures be created in Native regions which are at once consistent with evolving cultural patterns, yet offer adaptive resilience to the imposed imperatives of the larger political economy? As, for instance, African societies want their nation-building efforts to have a distinctly "African" quality, so also do Native Alaskans want their development efforts to have a distinctly "Native" quality. The aspiration is clear when a Native spokesman says, ". . . please try to fathom our great desire to survive in a way different from yours" (Yupiktak Bista, 1976).

Education and Development in Native Alaska

For the Alaskan Native community, the achievement of genuine self-determination and self-reliance is doubly difficult. Not only must their institution-building proceed within certain legally prescribed parameters and on the basis of a number of externally determined political and economic realities, but the Alaskan Native human resources available to lead and manage this enormous effort at all professional and managerial levels are appallingly lacking. This high-level manpower bottleneck is amply documented in Kleinfeld, et al., Land Claims and Native Manpower (ANF/ISER, 1973). They find that the ". . . 1970 census figures indicate that only 73 Natives in Alaska had any graduate level training and only 235 had college degrees (and) . . . a special survey indicates that over the last four years, only 19-23 Natives per year have graduated with four-year degrees." In light of this, it is further confounding that nowhere in the ANCSA document is there provision for or mention of the kinds of trained Native manpower required for effective, self-determined implementation of the Act.

That this human resource bottleneck exists is hardly surprising. Comparable to the colonial experiences of many Third and Fourth World societies, the Alaskan Native experience historically included the school systems' "cooling out" of Native academic and professional aspirations in favor of vocational educational goals and village artisanship. Consider also that only 150 Natives have been awarded Baccalaureate degrees from the University of Alaska during its fifty-year history. And like the Third and Fourth World, the Alaskan Native community is finding the achievement of indigenously chosen social and economic goals to be very elusive when the colonial legacy persists through the importation of large numbers of non-Native professional, technical, and academic personnel. Indeed, the "Nativization" of its professional work force, through both formal and nonformal educational processes, is as much a development goal of the Alaskan Native community as are, say, the "Africanization" programs of post-colonial Africa.

Furthermore, the problems of the uneven quality of public education and the professional manpower shortage bottleneck are exacerbated by a general malaise among many village youth as they are consistently frustrated in their search for socially significant roles and directions within the normless conditions of rapidly changing cultural patterns. The extraordinary pressures on Native traditional life, coupled with the lack of a rural economic-occupational structure capable of absorbing young people (and many other segments of the population) in productive, culturally consistent ways, is resulting in classic cases of adolescent alienation manifested by increased alcohol and drug abuse, generational conflicts, and violence.

Perhaps the most tragic indicator of Native youth alienation is the steadily increasing incidence of attempted and accomplished suicides. During 1965-69 the suicide rate among Alaskan Natives aged 20-24 was 47 per 100,000.[1] From 1970-73, this rate climbed to 170.6 per 100,000. As a point of reference, the suicide rate for the total U.S. population in 1970 was 11.6 per 100,000. Of course problems of random statistical variation in small populations must be kept in mind when interpreting these figures, but, by any reasonable measurement standard, the seriousness of the problem is evident.

Indeed, village adults are disturbed over the alienated behavior of many village youth and they, too, are searching for understanding of the phenomenon and for ways of coping with it as parents. Traditionally, a subsistence life style within an environment free of pervasive Western intrusion found Eskimo and

Indian parents exercising subtle rather than overt controls over children, relying heavily on personal example and culturally institutionalized character ideals which sharply defined the adult roles of the good and generous hunter and the hardworking, supportive wife. These traditional socialization processes now appear to be losing their effectiveness under the stress of changing socio-cultural conditions.

Youth Organizations as a Third Educational Environment[2]

In an attempt to address the problem of Native youth alienation in a way that fits with evolving Alaskan Native self-determination efforts and development activities, the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, proposes consideration of the notion of "youth organizations as a third educational environment." This strategy seeks the integrated development of networks of village-based Native youth organizations and a cohort of formally trained Native professionals whose university degree program is oriented to facilitating youth organizations and similar forms of human resource development in rural Alaska. It is reasoned that within the press of socio-economic change and development, such Native youth organizations could play a critical role by offering an indigenously controlled third educational environment to complement the formal curriculum of the schools and the socialization processes of the home. As a third educational environment, these organizations may be expected to provide opportunities for (a) more active youth involvement in community affairs, civic service efforts, and cultural heritage projects; (b) the development of individual occupational and educational career goals in both the public and private sector as these relate to regional and community needs; (c) constructive testing grounds for leadership and organizational skill development; and (d) a comfortably structured forum for discussion of the wide range of issues surrounding the impact of change and development on Native adolescents.

The formal training component of this strategy involves the enrollment of Native university students in a field-based Baccalaureate degree program. These students would intern under the auspices of Native village and regional corporations, working as youth organization coordinators and pursuing a course of study emphasizing adolescent growth and development, community development, and relations between various forms of education, both formal and nonformal, and socio-economic change and development.

A distinct advantage of a field-based approach to university instruction is its inherent capability of capturing true praxis of the learning situation: a continual interplay of theory and practice and, in P. Friere's terms, a movement away from the conventional "banking" approach to education and toward a "problem-solving" approach which offers a framework for student-instructor collaboration in the learning process. This proves especially important when dealing in cross-cultural settings and with the uncertainty and fluidity of the development context.

This dual approach to the development of youth organizations as third educational environments is further supported by a series of systematic research activities conducted over the past ten years. This research has focused on the effects of different formal educational environments, such as public boarding schools, urban boarding home programs, parochial boarding schools, and village high schools on the development of village youth.[3] These studies have led to the following conclusion: Formal instruction in different types of school settings is highly comparable and makes little difference to the development of technical skills such as level of English language achievement. What does make a profound difference to all dimensions of adolescent development, however, is the degree of nonformal education complementing the formal educational setting through out-of-classroom activities, social relationships between adults and youth, and structured opportunities for formulating socially productive roles.

In the past, many public boarding school programs displaced village adolescents to regional high schools characterized by sterile dormitory situations devoid of any culturally consistent social dynamic which could lead to productive and lasting social accomplishments. The result was the creation of a marginal adolescent society oriented around passive consumption of entertainment, e.g., movies, T.V., and dances, punctuated by sporadic episodes of drinking and dormitory violence. Graduates from these schools have had low rates of college success and low rates of participation in community service roles.

By contrast, many village youth who graduated from one particular parochial boarding school have done unusually well in higher education, are active as adults in village leadership roles, and have a striking quality of personal integration despite the disorganizing effects of culture change. The school used such educational methods as volunteer teachers who developed significant informal relationships with students, the preparation of youth for leadership through practice in organizing extra-curricular activities, and provision of a comfortable framework for group discussions of values, character ideals, and community needs. In sum, the school's influence occurred not so much through the formal educational process as through the creation of a micro-adolescent society which espoused a clear value system oriented around community service. This ideological underpinning has helped these adolescents form productive adult directions, bringing them respect within both the traditional village context and the larger society. In important ways, these methods parallel typical educational strategies of youth organizations as they have developed in Israel and under many other social conditions.

Among Indian and Eskimo adolescents, there have been numerous intriguing, although undocumented, reports of successful youth group experiences. In some villages, for example, religious youth groups appear to have had dramatic effects in reducing adolescents' alcohol and drug abuse by creating group support for a religiously based value commitment. These groups discuss such issues as individual responsibility and choosing between right and wrong. They act out value commitments by organizing picnics, cleaning up town refuse, and going to people's homes when someone dies to sing and cheer up the survivors. Nonreligious youth groups, for example, Boy Scout summer camp or 4-H clubs, also have been described as quite successful, especially when contrasted with the level of adolescent interest that usually occurs in schools. Unfortunately, these youth groups are usually transitory phenomena which fade away as soon as the instigator leaves the community.

One documented exception to this pattern is a Chevak village youth organization which was implemented by Native graduates of St. Mary's, the parochial boarding school mentioned above as having important, positive effects on Native adolescent development. Consequently, the strategy discussed here places great emphasis on training local Native facilitators to organize youth groups, in part as a long-range strategy for maintaining youth organizations within village life, but also in part as a means for increasing the pool of Native professionals working throughout the Native community in human resource development.

Nonformal Education Strategies: A Concluding Note of Caution

The proposed notion of Native youth organizations as a third educational environment gains transcending conceptual significance by proceeding from the premise that, in relation to formal education ("schooling"), nonformal education can as well play a complementary counterpoint function. As presented here, the youth organization concept presumes a broad, eclectic definition of nonformal education. It holds with Phillip Coombs that nonformal education:

> . . . is not, as some people assume, a separate 'system' of education in the same sense that formal education is a system, with its own distinct structure, interlocking parts, and internal coherence. On the contrary, nonformal education is simply a convenient label covering a bewildering assortment of organized educational activities outside the formal system that are intended to serve identifiable learning needs of particular sub-groups in any given population -- be they children, youths, or adults; males or females; farmers, merchants or craftsmen; affluent or poor families.[4]

The importance of Coombs' definition arises from what it says nonformal education is and what it is not: "a separate system of education." It is the explicit intent of this definition and of the youth organization concept not to polarize formal and nonformal education; that is, the "deschooling of society" is neither the basic assumption nor rationale for nonformal education. The fact of the matter is, for better or for worse, schooling in a large-scale, bureaucratic society will continue as the predominate social institution that prepares people for and legitimates their access to authoritative decision-making positions at all levels of the social structure. Given that in the foreseeable future there is unlikely to be any radical shift in the structure of authoritative roles in society, no amount of polemics or tinkering is going to change this basic "credentialing function" of the formal school system. Furthermore, it must be equally recognized that, regardless of nonformal education's capacity for assisting individuals in areas of skill development, vocational training, and in certain forms of social/political consciousness-raising, the evidence surely indicates that it will not displace the school as the essential institution for preparing and legitimating society's decision-makers.[5]

Therefore, in the case of colonized and subordinated minority groups, it is especially counterproductive to hold out nonformal education strategies as offering some magical social mobility route around the formal school system and its credentialing function. Indeed, the real challenge is to break down the bureaucratic rigidities and insensitivities of schools so that they may better carry out their basic charter for all segments of the population: the increased academic achievement of students in preparation for greater authoritative role participation in society's decision-making structures.

As a nonformal education strategy, the youth organization concept seeks to complement the academic charter of rural Alaskan secondary schools. It even goes so far as to make the claim that the more effectively a village-based youth organization can carry out its nonformal functions, the more effective will be the small rural secondary school in performing its formal academic functions.

In 1976, the Alaska State Department of Education signed a Consent Decree stipulating that the State of Alaska would take immediate responsibility for the construction, staffing, and maintenance of small high schools in 126 villages in rural Alaska. This action was forced by legal suit brought by several Native adolescents in a Lower Kuskokwim Native village against the State. The essence of the suit was that they and other Native adolescents were being denied equal educational opportunity because in order to obtain secondary education they had to relocate either to the nearest urban center having regional high schools or to boarding school programs operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In both cases, Native students were separated involuntarily from their families and communities for considerable periods of time. The documented evidence strongly suggested that this separation caused extraordinary hardship for the dislocated student and his family.

With the advent of small high school programs, the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, supported by federal grants, moved quickly to establish a field-based research and development effort. The purposes of this effort have been to: (a) design alternative secondary curricula and develop materials more appropriate for these small high school programs and their cultural/environmental settings, (b) suggest principles upon which the University might develop a small high school teacher training program as a degree option, and (c) inquire into the impact small high schools and the process of their establishment are having on the communities involved.

During the course of this involvement it became clear that small high schools cannot be expected to successfully meet the range of social, physical, emotional, and recreational requirements of village adolescents. That is, many of the extra-academic functions we ordinarily expect comprehensive secondary schools in urban/suburban areas to accomplish simply cannot be done by one-or two-teacher multigraded village high schools. A primary conclusion of the report issued this year by the Center on the findings of its small high school project was that, while appropriate interdisciplinary academic and vocational programs and methods can be developed to meet any graduation standards set by the State, this development will suffer substantially if small high schools and their staffs also are expected to assume major responsibility for meeting the other dimensions of Native adolescent needs, particularly those existing from conditions of alienation.[6]

In summary, the youth organization concept suggests that these needs can be met best through nonformal, indigenously promoted structures. To have such expectations small high school programs will eventually set them up for failure along all dimensions and thus, ironically, have the effect of perpetuating the historic failure of the formal school system to accomplish its charter within the Alaskan Native community.

ENDNOTES

[1] These statistics have been collected by Dr. Robert Krauss, cited in 2-C Report, Task I, Federal Programs and Alaska Natives, Part A, Section 2, p. 24.

[2] Portions of this section of the paper have been taken from the proposal, "Youth Organizations as a Third Educational Environment," submitted to the Bernard van Leer Foundation, The Hague, Netherlands, by the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska, Fairbanks and Tanana Chiefs Conference, Fairbanks, Alaska. I would like to thank Dr. Ray Barnhardt, Director of the Center, and Dr. Judith Kleinfeld for their cooperation in this endeavor.

[3] This research is reported in such sources as J. S. Kleinfeld and Joseph Bloom, "Boarding Schools: Effects on the Mental Health of Eskimo Adolescents." The American Journal of Psychiatry, 134(4), 1977, 411-417; Ray Barnhardt, et al., Small High School Programs for Rural Alaska, Fairbanks: University of Alaska, Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, 1979; J. S. Kleinfeld, Eskimo School on the Andreafsky: A Study of Effective Bicultural Education. New York: Praeger Publisher, 1979.

[4] Coombs, Phillip. "Nonformal Education: Myths, Realities, and Opportunities," in Comparative Education Review, Vol. 20, No. 3: October, 1976, p. 282.

[5] See: Bock, John. "The Institutionalization of Nonformal Education: A Response to Conflicting Needs," in Comparative Education Review, Vol. 20, No. 3, October 1976, pp. 346-367.

[6] See Barnhardt, Op Cit.

A CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR RURAL ALASKAN TEACHERS

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The Problem

During the past 30,000 years the indigenous peoples of what is now called Alaska controlled the learning experiences of their children. Skills, knowledge, and values important for survival and success in a severe environment were transmitted to the children in an informal manner. Parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, brothers, and sisters were the teachers, and the world in which the children lived was the classroom. There existed a seemingly immutable bond between learner and the teachers of the community, between learning and living.

The encroachment of western technology severed the bond between the child and his traditional teachers. The learning environment and the traditional teacher were replaced by formal systems of education and the professional educator. The position of the parents and others in the child's life was subsequently reduced by the imposition of the formal schooling process and the teacher from "outside."

Rural Alaskan education confronts a unique set of circumstances that have profound implications for pupils, teachers and administrators. During the past five years, there have been approximately 1,000 teaching vacancies in Alaska annually. A percentage of these vacancies reflect growth in new schools and programs; however, the majority of the positions are due to professional turnover.

The in-state supply of teachers graduating from campuses in Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau and the Cross-Cultural Educational Development (X-CED) Program barely meets ten percent of the annual State demand. Therefore, except for the ten percent of Alaskan residents who re-enter the teaching profession, eighty percent of vacancies in Alaskan education are filled by teachers who receive their training outside of the State (Roth, 1979). The problem is more severe in the twenty-one Regional Educational Attendance Areas (REAAs) than in the urban centers. For instance, of a total of 895 teaching positions, 357, or forty percent, were new hires in 1978-79 (Dickerson, 1980).

Annually, rural Alaskan school district (REAAs) are faced with a very serious attrition problem. Districts must select and introduce new staff to the teaching setting. Many districts attempt to address the attrition rate by having orientation and staff development programs for their new hires. Dickerson (1980), in his comprehensive analysis of orientation needs of newly hired teachers in rural Alaska, found that:

> Twenty-six percent of the new teachers stated that the district had not done anything that was especially helpful to them in adjusting to the job. Thirty-six percent reported similar problems regarding their adjustment to the community. Respondents' dissatisfaction with the assistance provided by the district was evident in most of those responses.

Newly hired teachers in rural Alaska encounter many adjustment difficulties. Dickerson's study found that:

> Both the new teachers and REAA superintendents identified similar adjustment problems of new teachers. The most frequently mentioned problems are coping with isolation, understanding and adjusting to living and working with a minority culture, living in poor housing, and teaching in a multi-grade, multi-subject situation.

Dickerson's use of the term "isolation" can be deceptive. The question that needs to be raised is, isolation from what? Alaskan village communities are isolated from one another, but individuals within those communities of 100 to 500 people are not necessarily isolated from each other. And it is in village settings with populations of fewer than 500 people in which sixty-seven percent of new teacher hires are employed.

The Cultural Fatigue Phenomena

As J. Alter comments:

> The new teacher to a bush REAA seemed to quickly adapt and succeed, or suffer through the year and leave. Few appeared to fall into a middle category. It is not difficult to understand why. The typical new REAA teachers were young, inexperienced teachers from out-of-state. They simply were not prepared for what they encountered. No one advised them what their new communities were like. Neither were they provided with a meaningful preservice orientation to their district, its people, students, and procedures. Thus, they started school in a state of shock which many never overcame (Alter, 1978: 159).

The term "shock," as used by Alter, or "culture shock" as it is often referred to in the literature, is frequently used to describe the debilitating experience that newly hired bush teachers often undergo. Hall's (1959) definition of "culture shock" as a "removal or distortion of many of the familiar cues one encounters at home and the substitution for them of other cues which are strange" describes in part the new Alaskan teacher's experience. However, Guthrie's (1966, 1975) label of "culture fatigue" may be a more accurate description of this phenomena. The "culture fatigue" process is much more subtle than the term "culture shock" implies. What follows is a description of this process that takes into account some of the characteristic stages which accompany the evolution of the cultural fatigue phenomenon. It is necessary to bear in mind that there exists no uniform set of sequences or stages which can encapsulate the entire "cultural fatigue" process as it plays out among all rural Alaskan teachers. The following description represents one interpretation of this process. It is a result of numerous discussions with rural teachers and my own experiences over the past fifteen years as a teacher, principal and university faculty member in rural Alaska and the Canadian north.

Stage One -- The Grand Alaskan Teaching Adventure: Enthusiasm/Apprehension

The first stage in the process of "cultural fatigue" is one of intense excitment, mixed with qualms of uncertainty. The teacher is entering a world where both the physical and social environment are new (to the teacher) and rapidly changing. Village Alaska is a setting of environmental extremes (100 farenheit degrees above zero to -75 degrees below zero) and rapid political evolution. Legislative acts such as the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, which resulted in regional Native profit and nonprofit corporations being established, and the decentralization of the rural school system, which resulted in the creation of twenty-one new school districts, have initiated dramatic changes in the political, economic and social landscape of rural Alaska. The rural areas are being impacted by forces and conditions of which the new rural teachers have only minimal knowledge. Consequently, they can become apprehensive about the expectations that communities may have of them.

Another factor which tends to erode the initial enthusiasm of the Alaskan teaching adventure is that traditional teaching methods do not necessarily work in cross-cultural settings. Research indicates that ethnic interactional and communicative styles vary, and many teacher preparation and district staff development programs do not attend to this cultural variability in interethnic communication. One traditional teaching methodology, i.e., "spotlighting" (directing class attention to one individual to respond), can even work at cross-purposes in creating effective learning environments with some cultural groups. School districts that are unaware of differing question-answer response time among ethnic groups operate under a tremendous handicap in providing assistance to teachers in Native classrooms and in their interaction with village adults. A newly hired Alaskan bush teacher who was successful in Indiana may or may not be successful in rural Alaska. Teacher optimism tends to fade when various teacher methodologies do not produce the results they did in "outside" classrooms.

The explanations given by some newly hired bush teachers when they reach this juncture in the "cultural fatigue" process is exemplified by the following statements: "I was successful as a teacher elsewhere, so the problem must be with the kids." "They are slow learners, and their parents just don't care." This posture, if reinforced by the teacher's peers, can become a self-fulfilling prophecy of academic failure.

Stage Two -- The Fading Dream: Ambivalence

The previously mentioned factors can lead to the subtle dissolution of the grand Alaskan teaching adventure. Eroding enthusiasm sets the stage for the second characteristic phase of the Alaskan bush teacher's "cultural fatigue" process: ambivalence. Growing ambivalence and frustration with both the classroom and the community can lead to either community avoidance or open hostility. In this stage teachers typically associate with others with whom they are culturally compatible, i.e., other teachers. This period tends to be characterized by a focus on the negative aspects of the community and school to the exclusion of the positive. The community is often perceived as "unclean" and the people "unreasonable," and village adults and students are perceived as attempting to take advantage of the teacher.

The ambivalent stage tends to emerge after the first three-to-six-months in the community. It is also during this period that environmental conditions become a factor. Close living conditions and long dark winters can place stress on both new and experienced teachers. There is an increased vulnerability to static states of mind. The teacher becomes susceptible to mythical constructs reflecting prejudicial views of the community and its inhabitants. Northern conditions such as "cabin fever" are a very real phenomena that numerous rural teachers and their spouses experience. Thus, the lengthy and extreme weather conditions of the Alaska winter facilitate the cultural fatigue process. It is not uncommon for an Alaskan bush teacher to suddenly leave the village unannounced during the school year and never return. The inability to move through this stage of ambivalence contributes to the high teacher turnover rate.

Stage Three -- Hanging in there: Reconciliation/Transcendence

The third characteristic of the cultural fatigue process has two variations. One is to reconcile oneself to the ambivalencies and continue to tolerate the classroom and the community for the purpose of career advancement and financial reward. One simply hangs on, gets through and flys out of the village on the first available plane when school closes for the summer, without coming to grips with the sources of discomfort.

The other variation of the third stage can be labeled "transcendence." This stage is one in which the teacher begins to understand the host culture and community. In this stage the teacher emerges with a more balanced view of the classroom and community and the negative and positive aspects of the particular cultural scene become more equal.

One of the major difficulties that the village teacher may have in reaching the transcendence stage is maintaining enthusiasm and commitment to a teaching role that he or she may feel is viewed with ambivalence by the village. This feeling, which is the result of the teacher's perceptions of actions within the village, is often misleading. It is based upon the teacher's own cultural interpretations of the standards of behavior and the meanings and social actions of others (Goodenough, 1971). Every human society has a shared set of rules, maps, and plans for organizing their behavior individually and as a group (Spradley, 1972). Teachers have, as do all people, conditioned responses which were formed by the societies in which they matured. These static responses and understandings determine the rules, maps, and plans which constitute their world view. This ethnocentrically influenced world view is an inhibiting insulator in developing cross-cultural understanding and transcending the ambivalence stage of cultural fatigue. The brief nine-month immersion of the teacher in a village setting, and the teacher's continual evaluation of the meanings and actions of villagers based upon unshared assumptions, contribute to the teacher's potential stereotyping of village behavior.

Village teachers tend to be primarily dominated by two concerns -- time and task. These teachers dwell in a world in which they are financially rewarded for time on task. Time on task is measured by the minute, and teachers are rewarded accordingly. This is often culturally incongruent with village task orientations, which are not as temporally bound as are the non-Native's. The disregard for western time values is in many ways due to traditional village livelihood patterns, which are closely related to the seasons and local climatic conditions. For example, the commercial fishing industry, which constitutes virtually the entire economic base of some villages, has not dramatically interfered with village time values. Prior to the emergence of the fishing industry, village residents were intimately involved in subsistence life styles, i.e., life styles which depend upon trapping, fishing, and hunting. Despite the emergence of seasonal employment, subsistence activities continued to play an important part in the economics of Native villages. Subsistence activities, which are seasonally determined and environmentally influenced, require a different time and task orientation than that with which the teacher is typically acquainted. The task of hunting caribou is not bound by a five-day, eight-hour a day work schedule. This activity is interrelated with migration patterns, weather conditions, and fish and game regulations. Thus the teacher may incorrectly interpret as apathy a lack of attendance at what he considers to be a meeting important to the village, whereas the underlying reason may be economic: there are caribou in the area.

There is also the typical teacher's predilection to view the village society in an evolutionary manner. If one's own society is highly technological and embraces a literary tradition, it seems natural to place nonliterary, hunter-gatherers who possess limited technology at the other end of the evolutionary spectrum. What has been overlooked is that these "other" groups have been successfully adapting to a severe environment for at least 30,000 years. This implies the existence of highly refined, long-term survival mechanisms in the form of political and economic structures and practices. Anthropological research has shattered the fictitious evolutionary legends of western cultural superiority. However, legends that support ethnocentric positions are slow to dissolve.

It is most perplexing for the teacher to realize that the villagers she or he is dealing with, who only recently may have attained "necessities" such as running water and electricity, are actually members of at least two western-style corporations. In addition to a villager's position as a Native Alaskan corporate shareholder, each adult may be a part of one or more of the numerous factions within the village. The teacher needs to be aware of the existence of this factionalism. This is a most difficult awareness to achieve because the teacher has a cultural background in which "close observation and interaction do not normally occur, hence he is often ill-prepared to deal with the political intricacies of village life" (Cline, 1974). These intricacies, if misunderstood, can jeopardize the teacher's transcendence of the cultural fatigue phenomenon.

Ideally, one solution to rural Alaska's extreme teacher attrition rate is to employ teachers who are familar with the local culture. This would lift a major burden from school districts. Native teachers who are local community members appear to have natural advantages over the teachers from "outside." Native teachers tend to stay in villages significantly longer than non-Native teachers. Sound educational pedagogy emphasizes the need for the educator to build school experiences based on an understanding of the background the child brings to the school. Native teachers are obviously more intimate with the village child's background. The informal child-rearing patterns of village Alaska are not alien encounters for indigenous members of the village.

Despite ninety-five percent of rural Alaska's population being Native, it is estimated that less than two percent of the State's teachers are Native. This imbalance will continue for the forseeable future, and the State will continue to import "outside" teachers until such time when there are an adequate number of local teachers. The preparation and continued assistance of these newly hired teachers is an identified need of the Alaska State Board of Education and many school districts. How then can new teachers from "outside" be better prepared to cope with the features of cultural fatigue outlined above?

Conceptual Framework of the Cross-Cultural Orientation Program

In order to achieve an effective rural Alaskan orientation and staff development design, the conceptual structure of the program should be consonant with the realities of rural schools, their environments, and those who are the recipients of school services. Brislin and Pedersen (1976) argue that "cross-cultural training for orientation is most successful when there is a careful analysis of the potential difficulties a group of trainees might have in the future, and some understanding of why they might have these difficulties." University cross-cultural training programs tend to overemphasize the abstract and intellectual as opposed to the actual and functional. The involvement of experienced rural classroom practioners in a teacher orientation program tends to keep the training grounded in the realities of rural school districts.

The conceptual design of the Cross-Cultural Orientation Program (X-COP) at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks provides participants with intellectual tools as well as physical and interactional survival skills that can be applied in a village setting. Alaskan teachers have identified flexibility, objectivity and tolerance as personal qualities that enable them to exist effectively in villages (Dickerson, 1980). An effort is made throughout the year-long orientation program to address these personal qualities both in formal and informal contexts. Simulated patterns of village interactional structures and extensive time in village settings are crucial components of the process through which intellectual understandings and personal skills are developed. Two-thirds of the training provided by the X-COP occurs on site while the participants are teaching and living in rural communities. The program is a variable generating approach to learning as opposed to a variable reducing model. Participants are not provided with a "cookbook" of how to teach in a cross-cultural milieu. Rather, they are provided with possible explanations for the phenomena and behavior they observe and interact with (Barnhardt, 1977).

An attempt is made to provide those involved with insights, sensitivities and interactional strategies appropriate to particular village settings. In addition to acquainting participants with relevant cross-cultural literature and resources available, numerous opportunities are made for extensive formal and informal contacts with Native and non-Native persons familiar with issues in rural Alaska. This sharing of accumulated experiences with experienced rural teachers, administrators, and community members assists new teachers in becoming more professionally effective and tends to facilitate positive interaction among members of different cultures. A premise of the program is that the potential for village classrooms is increased by teachers who are enthusiastic and have an understanding of their roles in a cross-cultural context.

Explicit Program Goals

The intent of X-COP is to (1) increase the effectiveness of rural Alaskan teachers, and (2) improve the quality of the students' school experiences. The year-long program is designed for teachers/administrators who have had no previous exposure to rural Alaska and its multicultural population. The summer component contains approximately ninety participants, the majority of whom become employed in almost every rural school district in the State.

The staff development experience consists of three sequential three-credit courses: one in the summer, one in the fall, and one in the spring. There is also an intensive one-week workshop in January and a wrap-up and evaluation workshop in June. This approach to orientation and staff development is a long-term sequential procedure as opposed to the traditional "one-shot-only" inservice orientation workshop.

Research on Peace Corps programs indicates that "follow-on training" which involves bringing volunteers together again for critical issue discussions significantly reduces attrition rates (Arnold, 1967). X-COP contains a strong and systematic "follow-on training" component which, aside from the sequential academic context, enables participants to focus on immediate issues of concern in their cross-cultural settings. A study of an earlier "summer only" Alaskan teacher pre-service program demonstrates that participants had significantly less attrition than non-participants. The Alaska Rural School Project (ARSP) reduced premature attrition rates by as much as thirteen percent (Orvik, 1970). X-COP, which is a successor of ARSP, is more extensive and long-term than the earlier program. Today there is also an emerging body of new research literature that attends to the realities of teaching in cross-cultural settings (see McDermott, 1974; Gumperz, 1977; Scollon, 1980; Philips, 1981). It is this literature and the resulting conceptual framework which provides the academic core of the program. The literature speaks to the social realities of the rural Alaskan classroom and teacher. The program attempts to create situations in which newly hired teachers are continually in the process of expanding and reintegrating their experiences.

In order to achieve an effective rural Alaskan orientation and staff development design, the goals of the program should be consonant with the realities of rural schools, their environments and those who are the recipients of school services. This training is designed so that it can be integrated into school districts' staff development programs. School board members, the State Department of Education staff, teachers and district administrators serve as resource personnel for the Cross-Cultural Orientation Program.

In order to attend to local school district needs, X-COP encourages district-specific teacher orientation and staff development programs. These programs are to be planned and implemented by district staff. X-COP is available to provide assistance in collaborative planning with district inservice coordinators.

Areas that local districts are encouraged to include in their district-specific orientation programs are:

1. Specific job expectations
2. School district philosophy and policies
3. Orientation to the specific community in which the educator will be working
4. Curriculum materials and programs used in the district.

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Implementation

The first phase commences in the summer during three weeks on campus in Fairbanks. Some participants are selected by the school districts involved in the program. Other participants are free agents seeking employment.

This phase revolves around job-embedded and job-related experiences. The participants review a wide range of problems they are likely to encounter in their first year on the job. Special attention is paid to cross-cultural educational issues in order to instill a sensitivity in participants who have had little exposure to the multicultural make-up of Alaska. In-depth coverage of key issues involve such guest lecturers as school superintendents, rural school board members, successful rural teachers, Alaskan Native university students, Department of Education staff, National Education Association-Alaska staff and university faculty. Among the key issues discussed are:

A. A historical framework for reviewing contemporary issues in Alaskan education
B. The anthropology of Alaskan Natives
C. Native Corporations
D. The evolving life style in villages of Alaska
E. The formal and informal learning environment of the Native child
F. Cross-cultural teaching strategies
G. Multi-grade/multi-subject classrooms
H. Teacher performance in rural classrooms
I. Students' special language needs
J. The computer in rural schools.

Phases II and III (fall and spring semester) of the orientation for rural Alaskan educators occur on site and consist of one course per semester.

The phase II (fall) course is entitled "Education and Cultural Transmission." The purposes of this course are:

1. To prepare and explain to participants the emerging reality they encounter in rural Alaska
2. To explore and use cultural systems within the local community to better understand the potential relationships between the school and the community
3. To understand the role of the educator in the process of cultural transmission
4. To foster an educational rationale for the use of the local community as an educational resource
5. To acquaint students with materials, ideas and resources that are available to stimulate the

use of the surrounding environment in the formal educational process.

Phase III revolves around ways the participants can incorporate and apply strategies and understandings learned in Phase II to the formal school environment.

The phase III (spring) course is entitled "The Social Organization of Classrooms and Learning." The purposes of this course are:

1. To examine communicative behavior in cross-cultural classroom settings
2. To explore cultural variability as it relates to teacher effectiveness in the classroom
3. To examine how rural Alaskan classrooms are influenced by the social organization of the community
4. To develop effective cross-cultural teaching strategies to increase the effectiveness of the rural educator.

These courses are designed for practicing teachers in a field setting, with numerous applied activities and projects built in. Materials and information for the courses are exchanged through the mail. There are some on-site visits by university faculty and two one-week workshops which attend to course content and other topics of concern for the participants.

Implicit Program Goals

There are two sets of goals for X-COP. One set is the explicit goals which are reflected in the content of the courses. The other set of goals can be referred to as implicit goals. These are the goals that the learner acquires in the process itself, in addition to the content. There are two major sets of implicit goals in X-COP. These goals have been identified over a decade of work and research as ingredients for Alaskan bush teaching success. One of the elements that appears to encourage longevity in bush teachers is the existence of a colleague support network. Although physically isolated, the knowledge that teachers are not alone in what they are experiencing is important. The existence of a network of support among bush teachers is a factor in bush teacher longevity. The development of this support infra-structure is encouraged by activities and processes designed to facilitate group cohesion. Teachers participate in both formal meetings and informal social activities. Participants are housed together for the initial intensive phase during the summer. In addition to the summer academic component, as reflected in the explicit course goals, there are other activities throughout the day and evening which meet the implicit goals. For example there are social situations with guest speakers, informal discussions, films pertinent to rural Alaska and education, field trips, participation observation exercises, and athletic events such as volleyball, softball, and croquet.

The support infra-structure that evolves in phase I (summer) is maintained throughout the year by intra-group correspondence, a newsletter and two group meetings that facilitate the explicit academic content goals. District inservice coordinators, through staff development activities and personal contacts, contribute to a local teacher support structure within the larger state-wide infra-structure. The role that technological innovations such as computer terminals and audio-conferencing will play in sustaining this support network is currently unknown due to the newness of the technology. Participants are being encouraged to use the technology, however, as an additional support device.

There are also faculty visits to field teaching sites. These visits enable the faculty to become better acquainted with the situation facing the rural teacher and inservice coordinator and to provide on-site assistance. These visits further facilitate the support network. This occurs through the faculty conveyance of messages or packages to teachers in other field sites. Some participants are itinerant teachers, which enables them to visit fellow project participants in their school districts.

Another implicit goal, in addition to the formal course content (the focus in phase I, summer), is the informal approach to learning which the learner acquires. The process of interaction and the flow of events in the summer phase attempts through both instructional style and rhythm to resemble learning in a village setting. Activities do not always convene precisely on time, extended family members tend to be present, young children and dogs amble about. The setting on campus in Fairbanks contributes to the flow and rhythm of events. The summer program occurs primarily in the "rural lab school," located on a dirt road at the fringe of the Fairbanks campus. The school is architecturally similar to a rural school. The building is flat-roofed and lacks running water except when it rains. It does not have a telephone system. Water for coffee and tea is hauled in each morning by participants, and the lavatory facilities are limited to twin outhouses. The minor inconvenlences and lack of Western cultural veneer contribute to the creation of an atmosphere resembling the one the participants may face in their rural teaching assignments.

Conclusion

The Cross-Cultural Orientation Program operates in a milieu in which Western culture's educational frameworks are intimately involved with village Alaska in creating new cultural survival strategies. The Native peoples of the State, due to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and the decentralization of the State's school system, have become a society in transition amidst political, economic, educational, and social changes. These conditions have caused attention to be focused on the necessity for teachers and an educational system that reflects the values and needs of the unique world of the Alaskan Native.

The focus of X-COP is the villages of Alaska, which are characterized by a maze of interlocking personal and environmental relationships. It is this maze which often is indecipherable to the new rural teacher. The new teacher finds himself in a cultural scene which is undergoing a rapid transformation. How this transformation and the accompanying impact of Western culture will reshape villages cannot be clearly predicted. Whether any of the dynamic multi-dimensional forces that villages are experiencing will improve the education of children is currently unanswerable. What is clear is that effective rural teachers who have some longevity and the ability to cope with "cultural fatigue" are needed if there is to be any long-range improvement of educational services in rural Alaska.

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Part III

Community/School Issues

BICULTURAL SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND CURRICULUM

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Nome City School District

Issues regarding Native education in rural Alaska have surfaced many times in Alaska news headlines during the 1970s. Many of these issues have been addressed on the national and state level through the passage of new educational laws and regulations. Conformity to these new laws has meant that certain improvements and changes have taken place in Alaska's rural and urban schools. Much of the conformity process has been by trial and error, rather than through a controlled process of change, due to Alaska's cultural, geographical, and historical makeup. Some of the school districts have been relatively successful in helping their clients obtain a quality education, while others are still trying to become resourceful and effective in delivering quality programs. In rural areas, educators have the opportunity to use the unique conditions either to enhance or hinder the educational experiences of the students and the community.

When a school teacher or administrator first arrives in rural Alaska, he becomes aware of two major problems: the unusual environment and the cross-cultural impact. The former consists of geographic and climatic problems to which an educator must adapt. These include the following: smallness of the community; limitation of some available resources and richness of others (cultural, natural, village life); separation of communities from each other and regional centers; travel limited to plane or boat; harsh weather and darkness; effect on physical plant and curriculum; and subsistence seasonal activities affecting school scheduling and student performance.

Cross-cultural problems can be understood by considering the traditional culture, acculturation processes and innovative approaches that have an impact in rural Alaska. Traditional ancient culture was once highly adapted to the region with a stable educational system of its own. The impact of modern technology and "Western culture" have created new needs that conflict with the cultural norms and role expectations. Acculturation to the new society through the western education system is ineffective, unstable, inconsistent, uncoordinated and often highly political.

Innovative approaches to correct disorientation of the young people through a modern bicultural curriculum program are needed; and to do this, more rural citizen input, student input, stabi-

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank lized funding, and better informed and sensitized administrators and teachers are needed.

At the close of the first year in rural Alaska, the visiting educator either will become more aware and concerned, or apathetic to the educational problems that he has witnessed and experienced. If the educator has the right interest, concern, knowledge, resources and support, he can help shape the educational experiences to fit the needs of the rural students and community, and also enjoy himself during the process. Yet if he does not have the skills, knowledge or resources to help him in his endeavors, he can become frustrated. If the educator displays apathy, then he is doing a disservice to his profession and the rural community.

Since staff turnover of school administrators and teachers is quite high in rural Alaska, there is a need for Native educators to become more involved in rural education. They are much more likely to stay in Alaska because of their cultural ties and the vested interest they have in the land and the people. The following three areas of Native education are in need of improvement:

1. The up-grading of administrative policies and procedures to reflect a bicultural school organization and curriculum

2. Citizen involvement, which includes the development of the school boards and parent committees

3. Staff development, including the up-grading of staff recruitment, orientation and in-service training; and career development for Native paraprofessionals.

These areas continually interface, but each of the three sections tends to concentrate on one aspect.

With a controlled process of change in these three areas, the Native education situation in rural Alaska may be greatly enhanced for both the students and the educators. This would mean working with various interest groups (University of Alaska, State Department of Education, Alaska Native Education Association, etc.) so that implementation can materialize.

A discussion in these three areas is also timely because the change in the Alaska Department of Education regulations regarding more community involvement in the planning and evaluation of school programs has created new expectations for rural school districts.

Up-grading of administrative policies and procedures to reflect a bicultural school organization and curriculum

The philosophy of school districts needs to state the bicultural mission and recognize the legitimacy of a modern Alaska Native culture. The major question that a school board needs to consider in order to evaluate its philosophy on bicultural issues is: Does the school board see the school as an acculturation force for the "dominant culture" or as a means to education for a modern viable society uniquely "Alaskan"? By knowing the district's position on this question, the staff will be better able to address the school to bicultural issues.

The school board's direction for the staff needs to be clear and comprehensive. In order for this to take place, the Native-dominated boards may need workshops and training so that they can effectively relate their desires to the staff. Non-Native dominated boards need to hold workshops and hearings to make sure their bicultural philosophy is in compliance with new laws and regulations regarding "Native education."

The district administration's philosophical leadership also should be reviewed and questioned. Sometimes the staff may know the school board's position, but may be uncertain as to where the administration stands on Native education issues. Is the administration's leadership thoroughly articulated and integrated with the educational system, or is it inconsistent with no explicit action and support? The school board needs to insure that its policies are being translated into practice. The administration also needs to articulate its views to the student body. Students need to recognize that the school is aware of their cultural identity.

If there are no administrative policies and procedures in the district to reflect a bicultural organization and curriculum, they should be developed with some of the following considerations in mind:

1. School policy should reflect an articulated philosophy that has been discussed and established by the school board

2. Rapid changes in the political and social environment require that the administration be informed of, involved in, and in tune with national, state, regional and local matters that affect Native affairs and education issues. Inservice training and on-going communication with staff are essential, along with contact with informed Native leaders and parents in the modern Native community

3. There should be a constant on-going review and correction system built in, so that adjustments can be made in the district's policies and procedures when necessary. No person of one culture can completely identify with people of a different culture. Therefore, the administrator needs a highly developed feed-back system from staff, students, parents and Native leaders on school policies and procedures

4. Support is needed from schools in developing a modern rural culture reflecting both the Native and the "Western" way of life with as much harmony as possible

5. There needs to be established a strong, unified, integrated curriculum to reflect an integrated bicultural community, rather than having "Native Studies" tagged on as an elective, with its parts often not even integrated with each other and competing with the "real" academic courses for status, budget, and structural support

6. Financial support for including Native Studies in an integrated program should be included in the basic funding for the district. Dependency on supplementary funding for Native Studies keeps it as a separate component and hinders the integration process

7. Unified Native/non-Native staffing should be mandatory in developing a bicultural curriculum. All teachers should become involved and work along with Native professionals and para-professionals in all areas

8. There is a need for much structural support, due to the rapidly changing situation. A highly organized system of communication, delegation, and decisionmaking, both vertically and horizontally, needs to be developed. Problem-solving and communication between head office and classroom, and across departments, need clearly defined limits, and freedoms within the limits, to create the best climate for controlled change

9. Procedures need to be established to encourage maximum involvement from the Native staff. This is needed due to past neglect of the Native input and will be useful in the future development of bicultural materials

10. Long-term commitment of the school district to recruit, train and upgrade the local instructional staff is essential. The Native staff needs to have a complete understanding of their role in curriculum development, delivery methods, role modeling for the students and a sense of ownership for the programs

11. Commitment to, and support of, the bicultural curriculum from the administration is essential. The staff and the community should have a clear understanding that the program expectations will be carried out in compliance with state and federal requirements.

Once the district's administrative policies and procedures regarding bicultural issues have been developed, they should be enforced fairly and systematically so as to foster a positive climate and avoid polarization and confrontation. In turn, properly established policies and procedures will encourage community and citizen involvement.

Citizen Involvement (including the development of school boards and parent committees)

The school district has the ethical responsibility to represent the wishes of the community as expressed through its leaders. There is a possible conflict in that the school also has a professional obligation to follow the best practices in establishing the learning environment. In the event of conflict, who has the final say: The community, or the professional educators? What say do the students have in such a possible conflict? According to State regulations (4 AAC 05.070), "Districts shall provide for the direct involvement of parents, students, and other members of the community, including the local school committee, in the development of plans and evaluations and improvement of the educational program."

Regarding community participation, another question has to be asked: Does the citizen group reflect the community or narrow interest groups? The feedback from other community factions would have to be analyzed. Additionally, it is necessary to ascertain whether the school administration wants true citizen involvement, or do they prefer token rubber stamping on specially prepared Native programs and basic education programs? According to the various educational laws and regulations, the school administration does not have final say on school programs, whether they are basic, supplemental, bilingual, bicultural or multicultural. That authority rests with the school board.

The school districts that are having problems conforming to the new laws often have shown only token interest in having Native parent involvement. The organizational activities that they display testify to their use and reliance upon old norms, formulas, ideologies, organizational structures, urban techniques, and political strategies to carry education to the rural Native villages. While at one time decisionmaking was far removed from the Native communities and education was implanted from a distance, this is no longer acceptable. Also the belief that educators have the expert knowledge and know-how as to what Natives want in education, and that the Natives do not have the interest to become involved with their children's education process is not valid. In some cases, the problem is the district's fear of having the Native communities involved, as well as the lack of knowing how to get the Native population interested and involved to assist them in the school's endeavors. So they carry on with the trial and error approaches, or retain the "status quo" with their present organizational system and educational programs. Thus, the Native students in rural Alaska become victims again to inadequate educational management techniques and foresight.

It has been only recently that the majority of the Native population in rural Alaska has been entrusted with decisionmaking powers for the purpose of local control in the area of education and, for many, it is their first experience.

Many Native parents do not understand or realize the impact of the local control roles they now play. If they realized the power they now have, they would become more involved in making the changes they want in their schools today, and in enforcing those changes.

Awareness programs and workshops should be initiated to acquaint all personnel, parents, and pupils with the nature and intent of the new laws and provisions for ensuring legal rights. These would help the Native parents to prepare for their on-going role in shaping the direction of their village schools and the newly formed Regional Educational Attendance Area (REAA) districts.

School curriculum and organizational development will fail without true involvement at all levels. Administrators must have broad, sincere, intelligent and critical input from the community, and the only way to procure that input is to provide the means and opportunity to potential contributors. Key areas of organizational development regarding community participation should be clearly spelled out and supported by the school administration. The roles of the school board members, parent committees, and parent and citizen input should be identified, and provisions should be made for various means and opportunities to be heard. An open classroom policy should be encouraged so that the parents and relatives of students can observe class activities. The teacher should make committed efforts to foster citizen involvement through field trips, displays, programs, visitation (both school and home), resource persons, chaperons, Native para-counselors and tutors.

A tutoring system should be developed in which the school provides the necessary supports (e.g., schedule, space, budget, in-services) for community members to assist their children in their school work. Through this means, strong role models from the Native community could be integrated into the education system. Para-counseling could also be incorporated in this manner.

In order to make informed decisions, reflecting the best thoughts of the Native community, the administration should have individual mentors and community resource consultants that they can rely upon when the needs arise.

The administration will need to recognize the legal powers of the various parent committees and provide the necessary support. The schools should use the committees for their actual inter [illegible]ather than just for paper support. Media coverage of the citizen involvement should be encouraged and made known through educational news and events (radio, T.V., newspapers, meetings, etc.). Student participation on the various parent committees and school board would also encourage student concern and input.

Staff development, including the up-grading of staff recruitment, orientation and in-service training; and the career development of Native para-professionals

Few administrators and teachers have the opportunity for training in handling intense bicultural situations undergoing rapid change. They learn on-the-job, by trial and error, and often must undergo insurmountable pressures. Consequently, there tends to be a large staff turnover in rural Alaska. There is an increasing need for workshops to prepare the educators for such intense bicultural situations.

Some school boards and administrations do not recognize or may not admit to the need for staff development in the bicultural area. Others admit that it is needed, but have other priorities for the available financial resources. There will never be sufficient funding for staff development unless it receives top priority.

There are almost no Native administrators and very few Native teachers to draw from in the State of Alaska. The first long-term priority must be the development of the local people as professionals and para-professionals.

Career interests, work-study and academic counseling at the high school level could be coordinated with the financial aid sources and teacher training programs at the colleges.

Career ladders must be developed for the para-professionals with necessary support available for their progression and incentives for training. Built-in release time and other support services should be made available if a career ladder is to be utilized. There would also have to be financial aid and counseling services coordinated with the university system. The work environment must be highly encouraging or the local people will not take the risk to embark on a long-term professional commitment. They must feel wanted.

The para-professionals must be utilized at the maximum level of responsibility for which they are capable (other than babysitting duties, etc.). They should be included in bicultural curriculum development, and program planning and evaluation, because they are familiar with their own culture.

Formal studies should be integrated with on-the-job-training, including training for their immediate supervisors, as they are the key persons who serve as role models and provide encouragement. Much learning comes through imitation of strong, sensitive leaders or colleagues.

The first short-term priority should be the recruitment of new staff who have the potential for learning to cope with and function in a creative and productive manner in bicultural situations. The recruiting process should attract the best available educators, and the screening techniques should focus on the type of person needed. This means developing suitable interview procedures, asking open-ended attitudinal questions, and carefully evaluating the interviewees' past experience and training.

Orientation of "outsiders" new to the district and environment should be a two-way process, during which time the local and the new staff learn about each other on a first-hand basis. If available, a reading list should be provided, so that the new recruit can read about the locale, the culture and the school. The orientation should include rap sessions, presentations, and interviews with assorted "informants." A buddy system might also be established. An orientation follow-up and other on-going efforts should be planned, and open communication with the administration should be encouraged in such a way that it will be nonthreatening to the new recruit.

Staff development should include in-service training (ongoing and regular) on bicultural matters. This will require administrative support, with staff release time for such activities. These in-service training activities should have varied approaches, so as to try many methods, including both group and individual consultation. The use of Native resource people can help provide a balanced perspective during these in-service orientation sessions. Utilizing students, when available, would also be appropriate. The bicultural orientation should be integrated with all curriculum development efforts, taking a positive problem-solving approach rather than a negative criticism of the staffs' efforts. The set limits, ground rules, and the freedom within them should also be made very clear. Productive in-service programs for the staff would benefit the students and the community, especially having a bicultural orientation program tied in with curriculum development.

The proposed changes stated in the above three areas are approaches to be initiated under existing state regulations and resources. The changes described will be difficult to implement, but efforts in this direction will represent an attempt at a controlled process of change in trying to make the educational experience more culturally relevant and meaningful for rural Alaskan students.

Studies in organizational development and change processes have pointed to the following considerations as being particularly significant in any change effort:

1. First of all, fear has to be overcome. There is always a risk involved in undertaking change. School organizations are very visible to the community and everyone thinks they are fair game for criticism. Everyone is an "expert" in what the schools should be doing. Therefore, it is easier for school administrators to keep a low profile and not draw attention through radical changes. The best strategy is to alleviate unnecessary fear by involving clients and the staff at all stages of a change effort

2. Any change in the over-all philosophy or methodology of a district must be accepted by the top administration if it is going to be successfully carried out. To facilitate this, the administrators must be personally responsible for the pro-

posed changes, not just give "paper commitments." Change introduced from the outside will be viewed as threatening, and will be resisted

3. The first step in any change situation must be an opening up of communication. Professional staff will not accept any change in which they have had no participation in planning. All levels of staff communication must be open so that change will be accepted throughout the whole school organization
4. Most school organizations do not encourage teamwork. Many teachers are isolated in their individual classrooms and in a one-to-one relationship with the principal. They don't often share their successes and failures with their colleagues and thus can be defensive and fearful of criticism. In such a climate there is little opportunity to deal with sensitive problems. Teachers need to be encouraged to function as a team through supportive procedures, such as release time or planning meetings, setting up their own in-service, exchanges, visitation time, contact with the community resource people and participation in planning

5. Few people change from being told "what is right," i.e., by being given "expert" advice or orders. Changes in teacher behavior occur when the teachers have participated in real problem-solving and decision-making activites.

The advent of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act and the intensified drive to develop rural Alaska's petroleum and natural resources ensures that the momentum of cultural change will continue to increase. Alaskan educators have a tremendous opportunity to apply modern concepts of organizational change to this situation and see the school become an integral part of the rural community by creating a bicultural school organization and curriculum through a controlled process of change.

NATIVE CULTURAL CONTEXTS AND FORMAL EDUCATION

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The Nature of the Problem

An historical account of Alaska Native education is a varied and complex one.[1] The first effort to impose a formal educational system upon certain Alaskan Native groups was that of the Russians in the late 1700s. Then, when the U.S. government purchased Alaska in 1867, there was a long period when schools were operated by three disparate American agencies: the federal government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA); the new territorial government; and several different church groups. Following statehood in 1959, a centralized Alaska State Operated School System (ASOSS) was established to manage the majority of the new state's schools. A large number of BIA schools continued to operate as well as a number of church schools. In 1975, the ASOSS was dissolved, and twenty-one new school districts, called Regional Educational Attendance Areas (REAAs), were established. As a result, a more localized system for the administration of schools was finally possible.

Today, the REAAs provide schools for nearly eleven thousand pupils, seventy percent of whom are Native (Hecht, 1981; p. 193). There are still some BIA schools in Alaska but, because of recent federal budget cutbacks, these schools may soon be turned over to the state.

From the time Alaska was purchased from the Russians, the substance of the public school curriculum was directed toward serving the non-Native population: ". . . thus the seeds of discontent on the part of the Native people were being sown" (Darnell, 1979, p. 434). Discontent was rooted nearly one hundred years ago when both the territorial government and the BIA were operating most of the schools within Alaska. During that time, an essentially racist educational philosophy and a standardized curriculum were geared to serve the needs of a mythical average middle-class American Caucasian child. The cultural context of Native people was given little, if any, consideration. A result of this stringent educational system was the increasing disorder and disruption of the traditional Alaskan Native society.

The Winds of Change

By 1960, Alaska was undergoing massive social, economic, and political changes which were to alter Native life forever. It was difficult for Native people to express their concerns and discontent over these changes, but new winds of social change were beginning to blow, and Native people would soon learn ways to articulate their discontent.

During this period of national social ferment, there was a proliferation of educational and vocational training opportunities for Native people. More and more young people were attending boarding schools and vocational training programs and joining the armed services. Despite the relocation of many Natives and the erosion of village life, there did evolve a cadre of Native leaders who began to articulate the concerns of their people.

Paralleling the Alaskan Native movement, an increasing number of ethnic and cultural movements were gaining momentum on a national scale. Black Power, La Raza, and the American Indian Movement were all voicing the need and demanding the rights of minorities to live with cultural integrity.

A corresponding national political sentiment gave implicit support to these ethnic protests. Many programs, such as Vista, Peace Corps, and Teacher Corps were all directed, at least in part, to the problems articulated by American minority groups. The Great Society of the '60s evolved in response to the social concerns of all American people, including the poor and culturally different.

All of these forces helped Alaskan Natives to define and articulate their general concern and dissatisfaction with the educational processes they were experiencing, a situation common to all Alaskan Native peoples. When societies reach certain stages of discontent, they may choose to correct the situation through a revitalization process, ". . . a delineated, organized, conscious attempt by some or all members . . . to construct for themselves a more satisfying culture" (Wallace, 1964; p. 57). I am suggesting that the processes Alaskan Natives have gone through during the last two decades in their efforts to reconstruct the educational systems in their communities can be likened to a revitalization process.

The "Solution"

Because of the commonly accepted notion that real "learning" can take place only in a formal school setting, there arose a cry from Native people and educational personnel that it was the school system which should be altered to solve the problem of disrupted Native cultural transmission. The schools then began to incorporate aspects of Native culture into the curriculum, based on two major criticisms: (1) the standardized curriculum was foreign and irrelevant to Native students and, (2) many people felt that the schools failed to acknowledge traditional culture. Something was needed to "revitalize" the traditional culture which was perceived as disappearing or changing uncontrollably. As the presence and power of schools increased, Native people were led to believe that if elements of Native culture were integrated with the school system, they could regain control of the transmission of their culture.

The educational system rallied to deal with this issue by incorporating a host of specially funded educational programs such as Johnson O'Malley, Indian Education, Bilingual-Bicultural, Title I, Special Education, and Community Education, all of which supported activities intended to bring Native culture into the school. Theoretically, these programs would satisfy Native demands for "traditional culture" in the curriculum to solve the problems of negative social change that Native people had been experiencing. The result is what might be called an "accommodation model," an attempt by the educational system to incorporate and attach traditional Native culture with the school curriculum. This was intended to help solve the problem of failure of the schools to promote the transmission of Native cultural knowledge and values. As a result, many schools today have a full range of "traditional activities" and "cultural artifacts" that are included in the daily learning activities. Native craftsmen and experts are brought into the school to teach language and various handicrafts which invariably include skin sewing and beadwork for the girls and snowshoe or sled making for the boys. Storytellers are occasionally brought in to share bits of oral history. This "accommodation model," the attempted integration of the Native cultural system with the school system, has been "bought" by many of the people involved with these programs (both the Native clients and those who offer the programs) as the solution to the problems discussed. Overall, there has been an almost total acceptance of this approach as a way to deal with the problem.

I have suggested that the efforts to make the schools responsive to their needs constituted a revitalization movement for Native people in that it was an "organized and conscious attempt" to use the formal educational system to produce a more satisfying culture for themselves. However, there is an important catch to all of this. Wallace states that, "Impelled by the vast emotional force of such a movement, a people can successfully accomplish sweeping changes in culture in a very short time; but they can also commit collective suicide, if the cultural changes are ill-conceived and the chosen means are unsuited to the desired ends" (p. 58, emphasis mine).

The dilemma may be, then, that collective cultural suicide is occurring for Alaska Native people and, for whatever reasons, Native people have been deceived by what may be ill-conceived programs and methods of preserving the cultural values they hold dearest. Actually, the special school programs were not, for the most part, of Native peoples' making, but were originated by unsuspecting and some not so unsuspecting educators who used them to suit their own purposes.

Concerned Native and non-Native people involved in these processes must ask themselves if the perpetuation of this particular educational model regarding Native culture has caused significant positive changes and created a more desirable state of affairs. I believe if we critically examine the schools' cultural programs, we will find ample evidence suggesting that the integration of Native culture with the formal educational system may not be as beneficial or positive as has been previously thought. Instead of helping to define and preserve a satisfactory cultural identity of Native people, the programs and their underlying philosophy may in fact be instrumental in perpetuating undesirable changes in Native culture.

The Problem of "Culture"

The discussion in this section parallels the issues raised in Dubbs' article elsewhere in this publication. As he states, the major problem with current educational terminology is the use, misuse, and abuse of the term "culture" while relating it to the transmission of Native culture, and the indiscriminate use of various definitions of terms applied to bilingual-bicultural programs. "Most action programs . . . parade around a variety of conceptual terms while paying little heed to how their often implicit or, at best, imprecise definitions of those terms shape the structure of their action programs" (Dubbs, 1982). This is most evident in the change certain terms undergo from their original meaning at a program's conception to the stage when a program is put into operation. In some programs the operational definition is so far removed from the original meaning and intent that one could almost suspect fraud. An example of this transformation is the use of funds designated for "traditional" activities being spent for basketball team travel, justified because some of the players are Native students. Related to the misuse of terms is the political issue of recognizing who is defining a program's terminology and who is actually implementing the program.

In light of the changes of definition which can occur, the definition of the term "culture" is perhaps the most critical and complex issue in educational program development. There are probably at least as many definitions of culture as there are anthropologists, or program directors and school superintendents. The definition that is most common in educational circles, however, is the one that emphasizes the material and technological aspects of culture. It focuses almost exclusively on material and artifactual items -- clothing, tools, art, etc. There are reasons for the widespread acceptance of this definition, the most obvious being that this focus is the easiest to deal with because it focuses on concrete items that can be easily managed by teachers who are unfamiliar with Native culture. A less pronounced reason for such widespread acceptance of this materially oriented definition of culture is the inability of some educational decisionmakers to see the value and definitions which treat "culture" more abstractly. Even more frightening is the possibility that some of those who do understand the implications of a more comprehensive definition of culture, opt for the material definition because it allows them to control the extent to which Native culture will be accommodated in the school curriculum. One consequence of accepting a material definition of culture is that Native culture programs are often added as "tag-ons" to the regular curriculum and are often allocated minimal time when it is convenient for the school and staff. Thus there is an implicit message that Native culture is not important enough to occupy equal prime time in the school curriculum.

Hidden Messages

It seems to me that we must carefully examine all the information and messages being transmitted by the schools' special cultural programs. The explicit message, of course, is that the school system recognizes Native culture as an important element of education and, by adding it to the curriculum through these special programs, the school is helping to solve the problems articulated by Native people. We dwell too much on this explicit message and often ignore what might be the underlying one. This acceptance occurs for numerous reasons, but two should be mentioned here: (1) people are not aware of any alternatives to the present situation, and (2) many people are coerced into believing the school's explicit message because of the economic and political powers of the people perpetuating the system. What may be of greatest concern, however, are the implicit messages being conveyed by the various cultural programs and structures.

Let us look at one message that is not very subtle. I mentioned earlier how Native programs are often allocated minimal time in the school curriculum, usually depending upon the school personnel's convenience. The implications of this "tag-on" approach are not lost on as many people today as in the past. In more and more public and private forums Native people can be heard bemoaning the fact that so little time is being spent on these subjects, and that these programs are usually the ones that are sacrificed when alterations in scheduling, curriculum content, or budgeting have to be made. The fact that school personnel do not see these activities as a substantial part of the curriculum is becoming more and more obvious. If cultural activities are important enough to become an integrated part of the curriculum, then many more teachers should be involved. There are cases of a few teachers who look forward to the cultural activity periods, where lessons are presented by another teacher, only as an opportunity to enjoy some free time for themselves. I have heard teachers in one community say they "can't wait for Spring Camp Week" so they can send their class out each day with Native instructors, giving the classroom teachers a week of rest.

Another implied message may have even more dire consequences for Native people: By immersing Native culture in the context of a non-Native school system, the implication is that Native culture has no strength and vitality of its own -- that it is incapable of perpetuating itself as a viable cultural system, and only through the formal schooling process can it be preserved and transmitted. The power of this message is undeniable.

Many Native people have been convinced that the way to strengthen Native culture is to involve kids in more "traditional activities," -- and these must be done through the school. So the "accommodation model" is perpetuated and innumerable functions of Native culture, such as discipline, language, traditional skills and values, continue to be relinquished by parents to the school.

And how does the school actually preserve Native "cultural activities?" By being performed in a formal school context, these activities are often given form and meaning. Original meanings and values relating to the activities are distorted, and the cultural activity and product often become ends in themselves. How would one deal with a paradoxical situation in which a Native and a Caucasian student are doing a cultural activity together, e.g., making a pair of moccasins, and the Caucasian student's turn out technically better than the Native child's? How do you explain to the Native child that it is not the moccasins, per se, which are culturally meaningful, but that the values, history, traditions and knowledge of his people create the complex configuration which is his "culture." Such a task would indeed be difficult.

One consequence of all this is that the positive feelings Native people have toward their cultural heritage are undermined. The mechanisms for transmitting their knowledge and social values are passing out of their hands into those of the public school system, leading, eventually, to a loss of control of their cultural destiny.

The insidious effect of this state of affairs is that many people, Native and non-Native, interpret it as proof that the Native culture must be related or connected with the dominant non-Native culture to maintain an identity. Native culture is seen as having validity only in terms of having some connection with the dominant culture. Many of us have seen books and other sources that discuss Native American contributions to the Caucasian culture, e.g., agricultural items such as squash or corn, or other items such as moccasins or street names. Some years ago, I heard an eloquent reply to this point of view at a national conference. A young Indian man exclaimed that he did not want to hear about what Indian people contributed to the Caucasian culture, nor did he want his existence justified by what his people had supposedly contributed to the Caucasian culture. In fact, he said, the strength of Indian culture is that it did not contribute to the dominant culture, and that what is basically Indian has remained Indian. Indian culture, he asserted, has the strength to perpetuate its own existence in its own way, rather than by operating only within the framework of some other non-Indian culture.

I believe he was suggesting, as I am, that a solution to the dilemma of loss of cultural integrity on the part of the Natives is not to continue the present system nor strengthen the school's accommodation models, but to reconsider the function of these programs and establish a new order of relationships between the two different but equal cultural systems. A colleague of mine suggested that one way to help eliminate problems in this area would be to give the special programs equal time in the school. My counter to that argument is that once Native cultural activities are carried out in a non-Native institutional setting, they can never hope for an equal footing within that setting. By the very nature of the relationship, they are contained and judged by non-Native institutional values. Within the formal school system, Native cultural forms will always play a subordinate role to the overt and covert structure of the institution. The answer, then, is not that Native cultural forms should have equal time in the school but, rather, that they should have equal time with the school.

New Questions and Different Messages

The educational philosophy of the school's special programs reminds me of scenes from the *Pogo* cartoon by Walt Kelly. In his cast of characters, Howland Owl, an educated type, gives the same answers to all questions. The special cultural programs in our schools often follow the same pattern; they apply the same answers to different questions whether or not they are appropriate. But some very critical questions have yet to be asked and they require new perspectives.

There are four questions I wish to pose in an attempt to bring a new perspective to the problems we have discussed. The first question concerns the nature of culture. *Can we arrive at some definition of culture that will be satisfactory to both the school system and Native people?* And, if so, what kind of definition of culture would take into account the rapid sociocultural changes Native people are now experiencing? A third question is: Are there ways that both traditional and contemporary Native culture and values may be transmitted other than through special school programs or in an institutional context? The fourth question is: How viable could any of these alternatives be, considering the political, social, and economic forces at work in Alaska today?

The Question of Culture

I once had a discussion with the superintendent of schools of a rural school district and he told me that the local people "had no Native culture left," that when he walked through town everyone was dressed in Western clothes, they all watched T.V., spoke English, and in essence displayed the cultural traits of the non-Native dominant culture. This attitude typifies the type of mental trap we fall into when we are not able to see beyond the exterior trappings of everyday material and behavioral cultural artifacts. This man viewed Native culture as either lost or so far deteriorated that it was no longer a factor in relationships, especially in the school context. Sadly, this view is not limited to non-Native people. Many Natives also have been indoctrinated with a material concept of culture and are kept in a state of confusion by the rapid pace of social change. Often, it is the young adult Native who identifies the loss or disuse of certain cultural material objects as the loss of his/her culture. Some of the consequences of this attitude have been extremely tragic for these young people.

Some theorists and practitioners attempt to sidestep the trap of a material definition of culture by focusing on cultural behavior patterns instead. This, too, has proved to be inadequate because behavior is also a cultural artifact. Behavior is a consequence or product of culture and does not constitute culture itself. This fact can best be demonstrated perhaps by the following example. If I, a non-Native, behave like a Native, by participating in certain cultural behaviors like Native dancing or subsistence activities, am I then a Native and do I have Native culture? Obviously, the answer is no. I can participate in those activities and assume the appropriate mannerisms, but they do not instill me with "Native" culture. In the same way, I do not lose my own culture by "behaving" like a Native, just as Natives do not lose their culture when they participate within non-Native contexts. The addition or subtraction of "cultural traits" from one's repertoire of personal traits is not a critical factor in the definition of culture.

A logical question follows: If material objects and behavioral acts are not culture, what is? Ward Goodenough's discussion on the nature of culture has provided me with several extremely useful tools for sorting out this issue. As I understand Goodenough, he says that culture consists of a set of learned standards by which we judge and evaluate all of life. These standards are the device that we use to impute value to all things in our lives. We use these standards to judge ourselves and others, to tell us what is good or what is bad, to tell us what to believe in or not to believe in. When a group of people come together to adhere to the same standards, a society and a culture are formed. This definition allows for the broadest base of understanding and yet at the same time permits us to deal with the most specific aspects of any culture.

Language often has been considered an important attribute if not a synonym for culture. In Alaska, the loss of Native language is often considered the same as loss of Native culture. Is the speaking of a language culture, then? If we use Goodenough's definition we would have to say no, the language itself is not culture but the standards we use to attribute value and acceptability to that language is the culture. For example, if I went to a Native community and spoke the language fluently, I may meet and even surpass the group's standards regarding the technical aspects of the language. But I would not satisfy the complex social criteria that the people of the community use to assess the total speaker of the language. I could not meet the biological standards (ethnic), the historical standards, the emotional standards, etc., that the Native speakers use to judge the total use of the language.

Let us look again at the simple example of the two children in the classroom, one Caucasian and one Native, each of whom has made a pair of moccasins. In the formal school setting, the moccasins might be evaluated primarily in technical terms (cutting or stitching skills) and the Caucasian child might have a superior moccasin in those terms. However, an assessment of these moccasins by the standards of the Native community would be very different, stemming from a long-standing network of cultural values -- the history, traditions, and knowledge accumulated over many, many years. The moccasins in this sense are an expression of an intricate, enduring, honored life style, a concept impossible to express concretely.

Learned and accepted standards are imbedded in the fabric of every society, in effect becoming the culture of that society. "Culture, then, consists of a society's standards for deciding what is, standards for deciding what can be, standards for deciding how one feels about it, and standards for deciding how to go about doing it" (Goodenough, p. 62).

A Viable Alternative

If the consequences of the present school-based cultural programs have been as detrimental as I have suggested, what then can be done to improve programs? As we have learned, numerous social, political and economic constraints led Native communities to realize that it was no longer possible to transmit their values in a traditional manner -- through the family and community. Recognizing this problem and articulating it, they turned to the school system to relate their cultural values. The school's inability to accomplish this task has made it clear that some alternative must be identified.

I am arguing that Native cultural activities must be separate from the formal school context if they are to retain the values Native people honor. Pressures of social change on Native culture, though, seem to dictate that the transmission of Native culture be kept within an institutional framework. Can a Native institution be created, capable of providing cultural integrity to its people? This would be a radical departure from today's thinking about the nature of cultural programs and their relationship with formal education, and about the nature of transmission of culture.

Why do we have "school" nine months of the year? Why are classes held five days a week and six and one-half hours a day? Can a parallel system be instituted whose sole function would be to transmit Native culture? I believe that the formal educational system can be restructured to accommodate the cultural concerns of the community and that the academic curriculum and the cultural "curriculum" can share equal status and time.

The "new" educational system, accommodating both academic and cultural needs, would limit the formal curriculum to academic subjects only and would not be responsible for the transmission of Native culture. The cultural program, on the other hand, would be an integrated, ongoing cultural experience incorporating the whole of a community's culture. It could be offered in an intensive four or five month process every year, it could be offered in two or three intensive sequences throughout the year, or it could be a program entailing five hours a day. The critical element in this model is that both educational processes would be separate from each other, but they would share equal status.

If a model like this were utilized, academic skills would be presented as "subsistence" skills necessary for survival in the modern world. It would be made clear that the acquisition of these "tools" would in no way detract from a student's cultural identity but would, in fact, provide Native people with the economic and political prowess needed to maintain a traditional life style as they so chose.

The academic program would take only about one-half the time currently used by the schools. The cost, then, would also be cut drastically. The remaining school budget could be used to support an institution whose sole function would be to transmit Native culture, with a program designed, taught, and controlled by Natives. It would be free of the institutional constraints of the formal school system which, in the past, had given it second-class status.

In some ways, this plan is similar to the old BIA schools where Native students were taught the "three Rs" and cultural activities were kept quite separate. The new educational system I am proposing would provide a similar curriculum structure with the separation of academic learning from Native cultural transmission, but without the explicit and implicit messages to its students that Caucasian is best and Native is inferior. Instead, the new two-fold system could transmit a strong positive message about Native culture.

The old BIA system gives us some evidence that this separation of contexts indeed does work. The strict separation of functions in the BIA school allowed for the development of many Native leaders, people who maintained a strong sense of cultural identity even after going through a culturally suppressive system. In the school, they learned quickly that what is done is "school" things. The boundary was definitely drawn and no one had any question about what was Native and what was not. Once the "enemy" was identified and the rules of interaction were known, it became easier for Native students to deal with the system. Many Native students compartmentalized their lives: They spent nine months at Mt. Edgecumbe and then three intensive months at home where they were, in a sense, going through a cultural revitalization process.

Many Native leaders in Alaska today are products (survivors) of that old BIA system. With the clearly defined Native context to fall back on at regular intervals, they found they were ultimately able to cope with the other system. One of the problems with the "accommodation model" in today's schools is that these boundary lines have become blurred, indistinct, and confusing. It is becoming more and more difficult for Native youth to identify the Native context because of its current relationship to the school and its subordinate position in that relationship.[2]

A Last Question

Is this radical departure from the present educational practices and philosophies feasible? Admittedly, it would require drastic changes in the perspectives of all parties involved. The state and other funding agencies would have to allow Native communities to use educational funds as they saw fit for the betterment of their community. There would have to be major accommodations and concessions made regarding uses of educational monies.

If such radical changes were initiated, Native people would have yet another difficult task. For such changes to work, Native communities would have to go through a process akin to a cultural renaissance. Core cultural values would have to be identified, perhaps re-established, and new methods to transmit these values in a Native institutional context would have to be devised. The task is a monumental one, but well worth the effort.

Although I am not familiar with their particular perspective, the NANA region apparently is thinking along lines similar to those I have presented here. They have established a Spirit Committee whose function, as I understand it, is to identify the core cultural values of that region and seek ways to perpetuate them as much as possible. If such an endeavor is successful, it may provide a working model for other Native groups who wish to regain control of their cultural destiny.

ENDNOTES

[1] For a detailed historical account of Alaskan Native eduation, read publications by Frank Darnell, Kathryn A. Hecht, Louis Jacquot, and Charles K. Ray.

[2] For a similar perspective, see Wolcott's "Teacher as Enemy."

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DECISIONMAKING IN A RURAL ALASKA COMMUNITY

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Introduction

During 1977-78 I lived in "Coastal Village"[1] and listened to the numerous opinions of parents, students, teachers, and community members regarding the new high school which was then in its second year of operation. Many of those comments touched on an undefined but evident difference between the local perspective of the school's operation and the Regional Educational Attendance Areas' (REAA) perspective.

The recurrence of comments made by the villagers led me to consider the way village residents communicated and moved toward decisions among themselves, and how very different this seemed to be from the communicating and decision-making process which occurred between village residents and representatives of the REAA. This paper discusses that difference and suggests that it is pertinent to the perception of problems on the part of many of the participants in rural Alaskan schooling. Throughout the paper I refer to "communication structures," by which I mean the attitudes, strategies, and situations perceived to be appropriately associated with the giving and receiving of information. Central to the discussion are the notions of the influence of context upon communication, and also of context as communication (cf. Philips, 1972; Erickson and Schultz, 1981).

In talking about schooling in rural Alaska, school district personnel and community members frequently indicate that certain curricula are offered and certain procedures observed because "these are what the community wants." Understanding what a community actually wants, however, may be exceedingly difficult under any circumstances, and especially so for persons or agencies from outside a rural village setting. However, questions about "community wishes," whether they exist, and how they are assessed may be one of the more important issues education agencies could be addressing because so many agency decisions are determined or justified on those bases.

Part of the difficulty in addressing such questions resides in the difference between what I will refer to as "external communications structures," commonly used by the REAA and other outside agencies, and the local or "indigenous communications structures" encountered in rural Alaskan communities. If the REAA sympathetically addressed itself to understanding and utilizing Coastal Village's indigenous communications structures, and by this means discovered that the community wanted to become assimilated into western society, it would then have some justification for the exclusive use of its external structures for conducting formal meetings and gathering information for the formulation of district policy and curriculum. To impose such structures without a clear understanding of their implications for all participants, however, is to exert unwarranted influence on the community's decision-making processes. Obtaining reliable community input means -- above all else -- abandoning insistence on external communications structures and seeking to understand the ways in which the people of a village prefer to commuicate their opinions. My contention is that communications structures, by themselves, largely pre-determine the type and quality of information that is communicated.

There are at least two major areas of difficulty: (1) The very methods by which outside agencies most frequently solicit information from rural communities may be the methods least likely to yield valid information; and (2) We need to ask to what extent persons identified by outside agencies as "community spokespersons" actually speak for the community. This question has an institutional corollary in the tenuous status accorded many rural community advisory boards.

Inappropriate Methods

It simply cannot be assumed that speakers of two different languages who share an ability to communicate in one of them necessarily share also the same notions about the structures of communication, that is, the attitudes, strategies, and situations perceived to be appropriately associated with the giving and receiving of information. The dilemma has two prongs.

The dominant society has imposed communication and decision-making structures upon Coastal Village that have been accepted in form but may well remain foreign in effect. Such structures have been imposed by demands that the village, in order to have any legal identity or role in decisionmaking, must establish specified governmental bodies according to specified processes. For example, to be eligible for various grants or to participate in certain programs, boards must be formed and operated under predetermined structures. To be kept apprised of regulatory measures, community representatives must be identified and must make themselves available as spokespersons for meetings. Many villages have been required to form two separate forms of government because the state will not recognize the village government established under federal regulations, and federal agencies will not negotiate with the village governing body recognized by the state. Ironically, perhaps the most demanding external structure is that created by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), for it requires that Alaskan Natives quickly become expert in the whole corporate order if they are to retain any degree of control over their future. Thus, to participate in decisions about government, schools, community services, subsistence regulations, ANCSA, and other aspects of life, the village has no option but to comply with numerous external demands regarding communication processes. At the same time, outside agencies often fail to identify and utilize local communication structures that could yield the information the community would like to convey and that the agencies need to have. The foreign nature of the external communication structures which underly educational policy in Coastal Village can best be highlighted by considering for a moment the foremost indigenous structure, that of "visiting."

Coastal Village people do not knock on one another's doors as they enter, nor are there elaborate greeting or leave-taking ceremonies. Rather, people's lives flow among one another's in an unfragmented continuum. People share tools, food, family responsibilities and subsistence tasks. More importantly, people share time. When the weather is bad, there is little to do, and if someone is tired of staying at home, she or he may choose to visit a friend or relative. This does not imply that there is anything new to discuss since these people last met, but only that visiting is an agreeable and sociable way to pass time.

Because of this orientation toward time and appropriate ways of spending it, one person may visit another with a specific concern, drink tea for several hours, and leave again without ever having mentioned the concern, simply because the discussion "never got around to it." Visiting presents a natural and undemanding opportunity to discuss, plan, and consider. Some of the people in Coastal Village say that this is exactly the process by which community decisions have long been made. I will refer to this as the "concensus mode" of operation. In contrast, Coastal Villagers often ask non-Natives who enter their homes, "What's on your mind?" Non-Natives, they assume, usually visit with a purpose. The assumption is not unwarranted.

"Visiting" can, however, also be an important component in formal decision-making processes. One man, an articulate City Council member concerned about his community, mentioned that another older member for whom he has great respect often says little during council meetings. However, this same older member will frequently stop by the younger man's home to discuss the very issues the council dealt with the evening before. Moreover, the younger man explained that, should something have to be accomplished, it was highly unlikely that he would raise the issue in a council meeting either. This is not a question of status. The man was elected to the City Council from the community at large and was highly regarded by community members. He was, in fact, asked to become mayor shortly after his election, and he was relied upon to carry out many assignments on behalf of the council. The question instead was one of procedure. He believed that "visiting around" would simultaneously spread an idea and modify his original conception of it. This is the concensus method, by which Coastal Village has long governed itself, adapted to the realities of a City Council form of government.

The Concensus Method

In the manner described above, a community such as Coastal Village slowly and carefully develops widely based decisions. Why consider in haste, within the artificially imposed temporal confines of a meeting, only to arrive at a static and maybe inappropriate conclusion? In Coastal Village, the pace of life, the attitudes toward time, and the environment itself all lend themselves to a dynamic process through which an original idea evolves and improves. And precisely as it evolves and improves, and as more community members begin to talk about it and espouse it, just so does it become concensus or community norm.

This is not to say that the idea of meeting to discuss an issue and arrive at a decision immediately has not been in some measure adopted in Coastal Village: it has. But adoption is not necessarily acceptance, and the widespread dissatisfaction with this structure ought to be reason to view with caution the limited results which issue from it.

I have suggested that important problems exist at two levels: first, certain communications structures themselves may be inimical to local decision-deriving processes; second, even when Coastal Village residents utilize formalized structures imposed from outside, there are important conceptual differences as to how events should proceed intrastructurally. This difference can be exemplified by describing a meeting that was conducted entirely in the local language and that blended what I have referred to as the local and the external communications structures in regard to decisionmaking.

Late one spring afternoon, the regional radio station relayed a message to Coastal Village: "The public meeting will be held at 7:00 in the schoolhouse." In spite of the radio medium utilized, note the unspecified purpose of the meeting, the lack of identification of which schoolhouse (there were two in the village) and the short time lead. Local processes were already at work since most Coastal Village residents already knew what was going to be discussed and where, or if they didn't, could easily find out from someone who did.

At the beginning of the meeting that evening, the mayor read in English a letter that had been received by the City Council from the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) in regard to the number of sea mammals remaining in the Coastal Village quota. From that point on, no English was spoken. Of more importance, none of the indicators that dominant society members customarily expect, i.e., physical location, body positioning, speech deference, turn-taking, and tone of voice, distinguished between chairpersons, leaders, participants, or spectators (myself excluded). No one person could have been described as directing or dominating the meeting. Comments were offered from around the room: No one called on speakers, yet no one interrupted a preceding speaker. There was no time limit. The discussion, I learned later, centered around the best way of dividing up the remaining number of animals allowed to be harvested.

One person made a suggestion and another person wrote it on the chalkboard. There was some discussion. A third person approached the board and changed the spelling. At this point, an entirely different way of dividing the number was offered by two supporters, both of whom spoke about the suggestion. A third suggestion was offered and, while several people were locating and distributing papers and pencils, the discussion continued. Several people wrote down their choices, and still the discussion continued. In fact, the discussion proceeded for approximately forty minutes after it appeared that everyone present had written down his choice. Several men put on their coats, as if to leave, but then took them off and reentered the discussion. Apparently, no one called for closure. Finally, as the discussion began to subside, several men collected the papers which were then read aloud and tabulated on the board for all to see. Still the discussion continued. One man, who had started to leave earlier and returned, again put on his coat. This seemed to serve as a catalyst through which the meeting, as a formal entity, began to disband, although the discussion in no way abated as everyone left the building. The important point is that the purpose of the meeting appeared to have been discussion. Decision was possible, but not necessary.

Disillusionment with Meetings

A friend who surprised me by not showing up for another meeting on subsistence regulations, a topic on which he had strong views, said, "I almost never go to public meetings. They're just a bunch of nonsense anyway." Musing about the same subject, an older man commented, "I don't know why the apathy. When I was a boy, when the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) Council was just being formed, public meetings were packed and spilling out the doors. What happened? I don't know."

Outside agencies relying on this particular mechanism might also be asking, "What happened? Why the disillusionment with a form that at one time had begun to be accepted?" It is possible that the novelty of the public meeting accounted for some of its early popularity. Since then, however, several things seem to have occurred.

First, Coastal Villagers have attended many meetings in which they were promised many things that did not eventuate. There are several possible explanations: (1) Some of these appear to have been broken promises. I do not suggest that the REAA or the educational agencies of State or Federal governments have intentionally misled people. Nevertheless, numerous agencies have used the public meeting as a communication structure to make promises that are locally perceived to have been broken. (2) Another possibility is that many of the meetings which led to the current strain of disillusionment were held to guage the response to proposed programs. That these were only proposals may not have been completely clear. (3) A third possibility is that because many programs have been created elsewhere, no amount of initial enthusiasm on the part of those promoting them has been able to overcome the fact that they were inappropriate or ill-suited to local conditions -- in short, doomed to failure from the outset.

In addition to the perception of unfulfilled promises, a second possible source of disenchantment is more direct. Too frequently, agencies have utilized the public meeting format for the expressed purpose of "soliciting input" when, in fact, it was actually being utilized as a soft-blow announcement of an accomplished fact. This is particularly true with regard to the interaction between Coastal Village residents and the regulatory agencies that are increasingly exerting control over their lives. Although such regulation is commonplace in the dominant culture, it emphatically is not in Coastal Village, where many of the current parent generation spent their youth and young adult years living in small camps away from the present village. It is a tremendous departure from this unrestricted lifestyle to one of regulated subsistence resources and the consequent implications for a cash economy, employment, and so forth.

Third, there are related instances in which public meetings have not been called for the stated purposes. One brief example is the program representative who calls a meeting, not because information needs to be gathered or disseminated, but rather because the strictures of the program demand that such a meeting be held. To believe that people would repeatedly participate in such meetings without understanding their real import is absurd.

Other Stylistic Differences

Other characteristics of the way Coastal Village people gather for group events are sufficiently different from external communications structures that the latter are neither adaptable nor effective. For example, informal home visits, community gatherings, and formal meetings are all characterized by a lack of commitment to be present. Friends rarely promise or pre-plan "stopping by," and local boards and committees frequently find it necessary to schedule the same meeting several times before a quorum is attained.

I learned of an interesting mechanism for avoiding frustration with this tendency when a Village Corporation President happened to mention that "there might be a Corporation meeting tonight." I assumed that his use of the conditional reflected his uncertainty as to how many members would show up. That evening, however, following the conclusion of a T.V. show he had been watching, he suddenly got up and said that he was off to see if he could "round up" enough members for the meeting. It had been scheduled, it turned out, only in his mind.

Another characteristic of many village gatherings is that individuals determine their own degree of participation. This was obvious in the subsistence resource quota meeting described earlier, and is equally pronounced in larger village gatherings such as Eskimo dances. During one mid-winter evening of dancing, there were long periods when most of the dancers were younger people; equally long periods when most were older; frequent periods when young and old, male and female danced simultaneously; and occasional periods when the drummers drummed and sang and no one danced. In such settings, "spectator" and "performer" become an artificial distinction because all who are present play constantly shifting roles which contribute to the group entertainment.

None of this implies a lack of community leaders. Much as the opinions of the group emerges from discussion, so do leaders emerge as they express opinions or demonstrate proficiency. This is another aspect of the concensus mode of governance, and is important to note because it runs counter to the notion of formally electing leaders in the manner that outside agencies frequently demand. Prior to demonstrating ability, who is to know which individual is worthy of a vote? Once that ability is recognized, why vote when the individual is already being sought for guidance?

Furthermore, such leaders characteristically disavow expert status. In conversation, they are apt to tell stories of serious mistakes they once made, or perhaps were saved from making by a "truly wise" person. A sharp and interesting contrast is presented between this attitude and the dominant society's electoral system of leadership.

This contrast does not suggest that the election system is useless in the village context. However, it does point out that it is a foreign structure imposed from outside that may not serve Coastal Village as well as the indigenous system it is replacing.

Speak Up

Several people in the village commented that those with worthwhile ideas are sometimes reluctant to voice them. There are several reasons why this might be.

In the earlier example of the Coastal Village friend who mentioned that Council members sometimes choose not to speak during formal meetings, part of the reason may be that the traditional concensus mode of governance tends to operate against the voicing of a new idea until it has gained some informal acceptance in the community. In the political arena, those who are highly regarded in the community are looked to because they frequently have valid ideas. However, these individuals do not consider their ideas to be automatically valid. On the contrary, discovering whether or not an idea has value is accomplished by discussing it with others in the community. If meritorious, the idea will be discussed by many, will gain popular support, and may become an accepted practice or attitude.

Another reason that might explain some of the reluctance to voice opinions is that even among leaders there is an expressed lack of confidence in English language mastery. During visits with Coastal Village people, it often surprised me to hear comments such as, "I'm sorry my English isn't better so I could express these ideas more clearly." From my perspective, the ideas were being expressed perfectly well.

A further contribution to such reluctance might be some agency's inclination to communicate the attitude that, "This is an area for professionals. We'll handle the decisions and let you know the conclusions." Perhaps Coastal Villagers are simply reflecting this attitude, whether in the belief that it is actually true, or that "speaking up" wouldn't really matter anyway. Surely, one of the critical factors affecting a willingness to express personal opinions must be the belief that the appropriate people are actually listening.

To What Extent Do Spokespersons Speak for the Community?

In addition to communication structures as an issue in obtaining reliable information about what a community wants, we must also ask to what extent persons identified by outside agencies as "community spokespersons" actually speak for the community.

Remembering that in Coastal Village many individuals prefer not to voice their opinions before exploring them in private discussions with others, the even greater reluctance to speak for others should not be surprising. Whereas visiting privately and "wondering out loud" about some question will sometimes elicit opinions from individuals, the question, "Do many others think the same way?" is not likely to receive a direct response. It may be implied that there are others who share the opinion, but even so the statement is apt to take the form, "Maybe somebody else could tell you about that," or, "I don't know. You could ask around." This seems to reveal an unwillingness to speculate, a conviction that the best way to find out what other people think is to visit with other people.

In trying to learn about something specific, as in general discussion, there is also the matter of question format. For example, when a group of high school students visited my home one day and commented about a song on the radio, I asked, "Who is the best music group nowadays?" No one answered. Later, I mused aloud and to no one in particular, "I wonder which group you like best?" This elicited a flood of responses. As in the case of asking about what others think, the first question asked for speculation. Moreover, it asked for conclusive information no one individual possesses. To this group, the second "question" apparently tapped specific information about which they felt comfortable speaking.

One locally appropriate way to inquire about an individual's opinion, and an essential way to inquire about more general information, is to allow individuals to return specific or nonspecific responses. This frees people to speculate about conclusive information they may not feel they possess, but about which they may have an interest or opinion. Similarly, the utterance, "Someone told me the mail plane is coming," is a cue that the information is hearsay and unreliable. It may be as much question as statement: "Someone told me the mail plane is coming," and implicitly, "did you hear anything about that?" In contrast, "Peter told me the mail plane is coming," implies that you should grab your bags if you are expecting to travel: use of the name implies that the speaker believes the information is reliable.

The discussion above indicates that when a question seems clear but does not receive a clear answer, one should not conclude that the person or group of whom it was asked does not know or "refuses" to respond. It may simply signify the need to be a little less insistent on our own communication structures and a little more willing to learn those familiar to the person or group we are seeking to communicate with.

There are other concerns regarding persons who have come to be identified by outside agencies as "community spokespersons." Early in the winter, an Alaska Department of Fish and Game representative came to Coastal Village and called a meeting to "both gather and convey information." In numerous ways he indicated that the meeting would be both structurally and procedurally "external" rather than local. The first half of the meeting, conducted in English, was essentially a dialogue between the representative and one Coastal Villager, "Alex." To all appearances, Alex spoke for the approximately forty men present. In fact, Alex did hold several elected and appointed offices and was often consulted by outside people who visited Coastal Village. However, when the representative later withdrew briefly and the men caucused in their own language, Alex did not participate. Only then did I remember that during the local meeting mentioned earlier, conducted entirely in the local language and utilizing the local structure, Alex had spoken very little about an issue of great personal concern to him.

Before discussing this contrast, it may be useful to recall a point made elsewhere by Bill Vaudrin:

> Village people have indicated their disdain for Anglo forms and structures in any number of ways, not the least of which is reflected in the Yupik word for village council member, angaayuqaruaq (pretend boss). . . . in many situations they are . . . designated more than anything else because of their willingness to play the role of 'pretend boss' -- to go through the motions of setting up meetings, answering correspondence, filling out papers, and entertaining visiting agency officials (1974: p. 79)

Having coffee with another man after the meeting with the Fish and Game representative, I asked if he recognized the concept mentioned by Vaudrin. He did, although he mentioned (as Vaudrin does in an unquoted sentence) that real village leaders and elected officials may now be one and the same more often than in the past.

Certainly a part of the reason Alex was frequently called upon to speak for others -- the community was his willingness to do so. When appropriate, he volunteered his name into nominations for elective office and volunteered to speak in meetings such as the one described above. This, in turn, led others to call upon Alex when a "spokesperson" was required. Indeed, Alex may have had some degree of expertise in expressing the needs and aspirations of the majority of Coastal Villagers. But it also may be the case that his expertise resided largely, or even wholly, in having confidence in his own ability to speak to non-Native agency people. We should recognize that in some cases, this sequence might lead to a paradox in which the individual most acculturated is found speaking for those fellow community members who are least like her or him. The next step in this progression is the former village resident who has moved to the city to assume a full-time agency position but who is still regarded by agency colleagues as the village (perhaps even the rural) spokesperson.

This is not to suggest that information-seekers should stop listening to individuals like Alex who articulate the wishes of their communities. The discussion is intended to illustrate that there is a dilemma involved.

Such apparently small distinctions are important. For example, having lived in Coastal Village only a short while, I am nevertheless convinced that I would be able to conduct an "educational needs assessment" and deliver to an administrator almost any set of pre-selected responses desired by him or her. The project would be conducted more or less "honestly": questions would not be "loaded," nor answers misrepresented. Rather, the desired outcome would be programmed in by the very manner in which the information would be sought. The quality and type of responses would be reasonably predictable according to whether they were elicited in home visits, with the recognized possibility of not getting to the issue in one visit, or in an announced public meeting.

Furthermore, within each of these approaches, the information would again vary predictably according to the listening/questioning strategies utilized. Additionally, the location, be it the school, the store entry-way, the shore ice, or the homes of those rarely seen outside would influence the information likely to be received.

The influence of context is magnified in such situations and can easily disrupt communication. Misinformation resulting from the use of inappropriate communication structures can happen to unwitting outsiders who simply use the communication tools familiar to them without realizing what they are building in or leaving out of their information-gathering strategies. This misinformation can happen to program people simply by virtue of the locations where they tend to spend much of their brief village visits. They are likely to communicate with individuals already involved or interested in their program area who are thus attuned to that particular way of thinking. This can happen to well-intentioned educators who may be told, "You know better, because I myself didn't go to school," an authority attribute school people sometimes come to believe of themselves. Unfortunately, it is possible for the factors that can lead to unwitting misinformation also to be used consciously by administrators who need to be able to say they asked, while simultaneously controlling what they hear when they ask, "What does this community want?"

Boards: Institutionalized Spokespersons?

In recent years advisory boards have sometimes become the institutionalized form of community representation. There is, however, reason to be cautious in concluding that positions taken by advisory boards truly reflect the "will of the community." Consider an example from notes during one Community School Committee (CSC) meeting in Coastal Village:

Administrator:

> We need to have a rule about no damage in the building.

Member:

> Rule? There doesn't need to be a rule. This is a building owned by the state and much appreciated by the village. It goes without saying there should be no damage.

Administrator:

> Good! I'll write that down. "There shall be no damaging of school property." Now, we need a rule about . . . .

This administrator also assumed the responsibility for taking the notes which were submitted to the District as Minutes of the Meetings.

In Coastal Village, the CSC was perceived by non-members as a support structure for the administrator who had selected the slate of nominees from which the village elected three. The day after one of the few Board meetings at which non-members were present, one community leader who had as much experience with various governing structures as anyone else in the village remarked, "I guess I really didn't belong there."

More generally, there are a variety of reasons why advisory board members express frustration. First, such boards are essentially external structures. They are elected bodies, which I have shown may run counter to indigenous practices. The board structure often requires that members express themselves in a second language. Further, this may also set a tone which inhibits, beyond language considerations, full expression of thoughts and concerns. In advisory board meetings, members are asked to speak for the entire community, even though that may not be considered appropriate by community members. Additionally, board members are often asked to express opinions and formulate new positions when the raw material for these opinions is neither a part of their prior experience nor available via present channels. Finally, members of advisory boards are well aware that their advice may or may not affect policy and practice. Even their right to exist is tenuous, as the REAA Community School Committees discovered when their legal authority was removed by the legislature less than three years into the state's "experiment in local control."

The examples above are not necessarily unique to rural Alaska. But they do point to an important question: "When state or regional agencies receive minutes from local advisory boards, to what extent can they be confident that those minutes reflect what the community wants?" It is interesting that many of us who would certainly not accept the notion of "community will," nor of one person or board speaking for an entire community in the dominant society, do accept unquestioningly both conditions when the communities are distant and unfamiliar. Perhaps boards and spokespersons can be truly representative. However, we cannot rely on that being the case without careful consideration.

Conclusion

The foregoing is not intended to suggest that the public meeting structure should be abandoned in villages, that those identified as community spokespersons should be ignored, or that to be effective, REAA administrators must visit with every parent in every village. Nor am I suggesting that the examples above are necessarily descriptive of communication structures in other villages. It is exactly the point that while communication structures vary widely in Alaskan villages, many agencies delivering programs to those villages rely almost exclusively on one dominant society communication structure that may not be comfortable or effective for their clients.

I am suggesting that there exist important communications concerns which may be compromising the quality of schooling available to Native village students today. Coastal Village, like other rural Alaskan communities, has been subject to rapid and radical change. The fact that many of us who come into the village from outside can function on the basis of communication structures that are familiar to us is certainly a credit to village residents' ability to adapt to this change. But the same fact also tends to obscure -- and slow our learning about -- the possibility that many other communication patterns are more familiar and quite probably more effective for village students and their parents. I believe that those of us who are involved in rural education but are not village residents would do well to consider some of these alternative communication structures.

ENDNOTE

[1] My role in the community was that of a University graduate research assistant, tutoring local undergraduate students and assisting in a statewide study of the program needs of new village high schools. The paper results not from an intentional research design, but from the willingness of a large number of people in Coastal Village who shared their ideas.

The village, the individuals mentioned, and the quotations ascribed to them in this paper are authentic. I have used the fictitious name, "Coastal Village," however, to protect others from the effects of errors of interpretation and misunderstandings that are mine alone.

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FOLKLORE AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN ALASKA

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Introduction

In this paper, the author attempts to identify selected ideological characteristics of the cultural world of rural Alaskan school administrators. The interaction between administrators and staff, students, community members, and visitors is influenced by the administrators' world view concerning the nature of man and his activities. An analysis of the administrators' cultural behavior, in this case the telling of stories, tales, sayings and proverbs, can lead to an increased understanding of their world view which, in turn, can lead to a more lucid picture of school decisionmaking in a cross-cultural context. The primary purpose of this study has been to examine the behavior of school principals in a cross-cultural context. The observations reported here were collected over a two-year period of three-to-five-day visits a month into several rural communities in Alaska as a University field instructor. The visits with each principal often included many hours and sometimes days. Visits ranged from 6 a.m. to the late evening. Visits occurred in school and out; in his office, in the village store, at the local Native corporation or village council offices; when he was sober or not so sober; with or without his wife and children; in other words, in nearly every setting in which a principal might interact each day.

Soon into the study it became apparent that the administrators with whom I was working had an interesting common behavior -- they all loved to tell stories. Some were more proficient at it than others, but all subjects told stories. Initially, I did not record the stories in detail, nor did I tape record them; rather, I took them to be an integral part of the principals' behavior and no more or less important to my study. In reviewing my field notes, however, I saw emerging a pattern of behavior and a set of common themes in the stories. I began to note the story and the social and physical context within which it was related. In fact, this particular aspect of the study became a preoccupation. Coincidentally, part of my duties during this period included teaching an anthropology course in contemporary American culture and an introduction to folklore course.

Context

The context for the study is five rural Alaskan villages in a region inhabited by Alaskan Natives of three different linguistic groups. The villages are all permanent settlements with subsistence living as the primary source of economic activity. The subsistence patterns center around sea mammals and reindeer herding with some reliance on riverine resources. Several villages are known for their whaling activities, which are a vital and important focus of their culture.

The villages display many differences and similarities with respect to the following physical characteristics which I would like to sketch. The similarities are that all villages are located on the ocean shore; they all have a prominent air field with at least two bush flights each day (weather permitting); they all have large and conspicuous fuel oil tanks; most housing is of the wooden frame type; they have a pick-up truck that travels from "downtown" to the airstrip; they have several small general stores; a myriad of CB antennas; snow-goes, ATV's and dogs. Also, there are seal skins, fish racks, whale or sea mammal bones, and outhouses in each village. Finally, each community has a school as its most prominent building.

Some differences in the physical setting are that two villages have a predominance of government housing. Two villages are renowned for their polar bear hunting, one village for its reindeer herds, and one village for its whaling and walrus hunting. Two villages have television, and telephones are available if desired or affordable. Three villages do not have television, and in these communities there is only one village telephone, usually located in the "Native" store. The smallest community has 200 inhabitants; the largest, 400 inhabitants, depending on season.

The inhabitants of these villages are Eskimo. Three distinct languages are spoken. In one village nearly all the Native people speak Siberian Yupik; one community's language is Central Yupik, which all adults speak fluently, although the children do not. Three communities are Inupiaq-speaking with most adults fluent, but only a small percentage of the children have any degree of fluency.

The schools are usually the centerpieces of the villages. Several are in the geographic center of the village, with housing on either side. Unlike the pattern in other parts of rural Alaska, where the schools are physically removed from the village, these communities envelop the school building. The school gymnasium or recreation room is a source of community participation, and in all locations is in use night and day by the local residents. Most village residents describe the school as the most important structure in their community and express pride in their school.

The village schools are operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the State of Alaska. The BIA operates the K-8 component in several villages, and the State operates the high school. In two villages the State, through a regional school district, runs the total K-12 program. The BIA provides housing, with running water and flush toilets, for its employees while the State-funded school district does not. In villages with both BIA and State schools this difference in housing is a significant source of discontent amongst teachers. Maintenance on these relatively huge structures, including light, heat, and repair, can reach the $100,000 range each year.

The focus of this study is The School Principal and his or her oral tradition and world view as it affects school decision-making. Each of the eight principals in this study possessed Alaska teaching certificates. Two principals were certified in special education and did not have administrative credentials. Three principals were actually principal-teachers. A principal-teacher (p-t) is expected to teach a full course of study and devote late afternoons to administrivia. The full-time administrator who does not teach is expected to devote his or her time to "managing" things -- interestingly, the paperwork is about the same for both roles. The p-t's in the study did not hold administrative credentials. At least one p-t was in the classroom no more than one day in five and his aide actually handled the teaching chores.

With respect to advanced credentials, four principals had Masters Degrees and one had significant course work towards the doctorate. The BIA did not require the same academic credentials as the State-funded schools (that has now changed); thus, the BIA administrators were less credentialed, in general, than those employed by the State. All the principals were male, which is not unusual in educational administration. These principals considered themselves the most educated, most authoritative, most experienced; most influential persons representing Western cultural institutions in each village. It makes sense, then, to focus on their folklore to investigate the type of influences that they exert in the village schools. A further task of the analysis is to demonstrate an adherence of the folklore to an American core value system (Kluckhohn, 1961). This analysis examines the tendency of principals to plan ahead, get ahead, to stress self-reliance, to stress dominance of the environment and achievement without substantial regard to the cross-cultural context.

Categories of Rural Educators' Tales

Analysis of the "texts" of the folklore presentations (stories) indicate that they were adjusted for each audience in that the raconteur would use a common theme but vary the presentation for different groups. The tales then could have positive or negative overtones depending on social context. Some of the themes or genre of folklore are exemplified in the following texts.

Airplane Tales

> We were coming back from Gold Town and we had to get below the clouds to see. We were almost on the deck! The pilot didn't seem to know where he was. Everyone was panicked because we knew there were hills between us and St. Joseph. I'm not going to say I was scared but they will have to replace the seat cover in the plane. The pilot finally saw a clearing and he sat it down -- we waited out the weather.
>
> I was coming back from a principals' meeting and the weather rolled in -- we couldn't see sh--. The pilot really look scared -- his radar didn't work. We called Gold Town for permission to come back but they were weathered in, too. The pilot decided to get below the weather. We saw the ground! We were about 300 feet up -- the guy in front of me almost came unglued. I won't tell you what it did to me.

Folklore that concerns air travel is foremost in the repertoire of many rural educators. With the only means of travel being small aircraft, and with the difficult weather found in most areas of Alaska, one can understand this apparent preoccupation. Many communities are tied to the outside world by small aircraft; thus, it becomes important for communications and survival. For many principals and teachers the airplane becomes an obsession and tales abound regarding harrowing experiences. Frequently, the tales are embellished in order to make the unusual occurrence one that involved near-misses that endangered life and limb.

New Teacher Tales

> I was waiting at the airstrip for my teaching couple to arrive. The plane sat down and I walked over to see if they were on board. There was a couple -- but they didn't seem to be getting out. The pilot

> said they were the 'Jones,' but they saw Fishcamp Village from the air and said, 'return us to Gold Town.' I tried to talk them off the plane but they said you'd have to be crazy to teach here. You know: they were right -- you have to be tough or crazy, and after two years I'm a little of both.
>
> There was this new teacher who had been promised housing in the village as an inducement to teach in this community. When he got here he found that the roof of the house was only six feet high (he was six foot four inches tall), there was no electricity, no water and no toilet. He moved into the school kitchen and we can't get him out. He says they will have to get him better quarters or he will live in there all year.

This category of tale was second in emphasis to travel tales. These stories dealt mainly with the inability of the new hire to adapt to the rigors of Alaska in an immediate fashion. It is not unusual to hear that several teachers each year do not remain in the village even a week. Many candidates explain to recruiters that they are experienced back-packers and can rough it without difficulty. It seems no matter how much an outsider is told, the isolation and lack of facilities comes as a shock, a shock some never quite recover from and, thus, do not make it through the school year. They become the subject of everyone's favorite "new teacher" story.

Central Office Tales

> This gal from Gold Town came out here last week and totally screwed up my operation. She is the special ed person and seems to think she can operate without my permission. All those Central Office people come out here and practice their tricks on my kids and then go away and leave me with the fall-out. If I say anything, they immediately report to the superintendent that I don't cooperate. It would be nice if we were really principals and not hosts for the safaris of people from Gold Town. They seem to think that they are big wheels doing a favor for the poor village administrators. I will talk to the rest of the principals and see if I can resolve this issue.
>
> That G-- d--- guy comes out here on big per diem, sleeps in my house, eats my food, drinks my booze, pumps me for information and leaves without giving

> us a dime or even a nice thank you. All of us ought to go stay at his house and do the same.

There are several themes in these tales that occur in other categories of folk stories. The initial theme is that the village school is in a state of equilibrium, and input from Central Office may upset this equilibrium and cause difficulty for the on-site administrator. The second theme is that many Central Office personnel are inconsiderate dolts and do not observe simple amenities expected of visitors of any station in life. Also, headquarters' people seem to be chosen for their ability to offend and take the opportunity to do so at a high degree of frequency. The uncontrolled visitor is a threat to harmony in the village situation.

Visitor Tales

> This whole plane of foreigners comes descending on the school. My G--! They wanted to ski to Siberia or some such s---. Why is it we get all the weirdos in the world out here? Then the weather got bad and they had to stay for six days. They bitched about sleeping on the floor, they wanted better meals, and they wanted to know why they had to be out of the classrooms by 7:30 a.m. One guy tried to proposition a high school girl. Thank G-- the weather cleared and they left. We charged them 40 bucks a day each for the school fund. The seniors will have a h--- of a trip this year.

One of the worst things that can happen to a frequent traveller to the bush is to be labeled as cheap, strange, or said to have bizarre habits. Unfortunately, it is true that many visitors do make unusual demands on the schools. In most rural Alaskan communities there are no hotels or restaurants, and the school is the only available place to house people. Further, most schools have the facilities to prepare meals. Thus, the school principal is frequently an inn-keeper, whether he wants to be or not, no matter how unwelcome the guest. Many administrators have published menus, room-rates and a check-out time. This procedure does save hurt feelings and misunderstandings although such lists frequently are seen as mercenary by the travellers.

This presentation format does not provide space to give textual examples for each category, nor to relate the context for each genre, but some of the other dominant topics are:

Staff (includes unions)
Spiritual Happenings
Ground and Water Travel
Village-related problems
Domestic Difficulty

Analysis

In order to qualify for this study it was necessary for a tale to be told (with variations on a theme) in at least three locations: The where, when, who and what was recorded. There is no attempt to assess the veracity of a tale -- it is not important, given the purpose of this study.

It was usually during group meetings attended by all administrators in a district or region that folklore behavior was most pronounced. The function of folklore seems to be to recruit new members into the occupational "brotherhood." In addition to recruitment, folklore appears to function as an orientation into appropriate ways of acting. This recruitment process is accompanied by a need for maintaining allegiance to this occupational group. The highlight of the informal sessions is when the "new guy" begins his attempts to become a raconteur. Thus, the stories help to provide continuity in a very mobile population. Since the average tenure of a bush principal is about two years, folklore provides cultural continuity and provides guidelines to assist the new principals in behaving appropriately.

Another function of folklore in this context appears to be that of attaining compliance to a set of norms. Normative compliance is not unknown to organizational theorists and is probably a common occurrence among managers, rather like an indirect order. The principal's story or tale usually expresses what is appropriate or inappropriate behavior and, in the cases under discussion, the sanctions that were imposed. The audience for this type of behavior was usually younger colleagues, teachers, or students. Organizational scholar Louis Pondy, for example, states:

> . . . meanings will frequently be 'stored' in organizational myths and metaphors to provide rationales for both membership and activity in organizations. The role that institutional leaders play in the creation of myths and metaphors is a worthwhile focus for study (Pondy, 1976:33).

Pondy and others argue that organizations create meanings which are stored in myths and metaphors. Myths and metaphors, he continues, are implicit in the organizational, educational, and managerial platforms of schools (Sergiovanni and Carver, 1980: 239). The folklore of the principals demonstrates several significant motifs. The one of most importance is similar to what Francis Hsu has labeled "self-reliance." This is the core American value according to Hsu (1972). Analysis of the folklore, regardless of genre, illustrates this core value as a distinct orientation of the informants. The texts of their stories reveal verbal illustrations of their own independence, uniqueness, individualism; and economic, social and political equality. Several examples of stories that support my analysis will illustrate this self-reliant theme. The fact that some people are judged by their deviation from an arbitrary measure of adequate self-reliance is found in the writings of Hsu (1972:249).

> I'm out here by myself, trying to make a better world for all of us. As difficult as it can get at times, I know how important it is to encourage people to stand on their own two feet. Without the schools, the people would still be in the stone age. We have an important mission -- to make these people less dependent on the federal government, and to take their place in the modern world.
>
> The children in this school have no sense of pride. They copy one another's work, they can't go to the bathroom alone, they want help on tests, they are obstinate and difficult if singled out for reward or punishment, and they won't speak up. When I went to school we were punished if we did any of those things. It must have worked to my benefit because I'm now the principal and I have all this responsibility.

The tales that led me to the association of folklore, core values and world view were those that contrasted Native dependence with the Caucasian's self-reliance. For instance, stories about Natives often dealt with alcohol, welfare, working habits, etc., usually relating a general dependence or lack of self-reliance on the part of the local people. Conversely, most tales about principals' behavior lauded their ability in coping with extraordinary circumstances. For instance, there were stories of principals who disarmed villagers who came to the school drunk. There were stories of villagers who had to be persuaded not to shoot-up school equipment because they were mad at the government. There were stories that clearly indicated the independent, self-reliant principal and the independent and unreliable local person. A typical example of folklore to support my analysis demonstrates the notion of principal as folk hero (cf. Botkin, 1980:2):

> I was just about to hit the sack -- we put the kids to bed and we were really tired. It had been a hectic day. The villagers had received some dividend money, and booze was everywhere. Just then I

> heard a volley of shots -- I looked out the window and some drunk was shooting the school snogo. I got on some boots and my parka and went outside. I was not going to let some drunk ruin the machine. Well, I talked my a-- off and he went away. When I got back in the house my wife asked, "Didn't you worry about him shooting you?" I honestly didn't think about that until after -- I guess I was rather foolish -- but only the good die young.

This tale was told by principals in three villages, without acknowledging the fact that it happened to someone else in some other place and time. It was part of the repertoire of folklore, and it did express the self-reliant nature of the shared knowledge of principals in that region.

The stories recorded were not always checked for accuracy. In fact, many of them are probably folk fallacies (Dundes, 1972); however, they may be no less real to the teller and audience than a story that is legitimate oral history (legend).

As indicated above, the folklore or folk fallacies almost universally demonstrated the non-Native as self-reliant and Natives as dependent. This perceived dependence by the principals can be seen as affecting their ability to make valid decisions with regard to the conduct of education in cross-cultural settings. This is especially the case if Hsu is correct in his assertion that: "In American society the fear of dependence is so great that an individual who is not self-reliant is a misfit" (1972:250).

It would appear that an individual expressing self-reliance as an important component of his or her world view would have a basic conflict with "folks" from cultures that do not rate self-reliance as a high priority in their own world view or core values. This appears to be the case in rural Alaskan schools where the school principal is the apparent personification of the self-confident, self-assured and self-reliant leader.

To underscore the value distinctions that are central to this discussion it is necessary to introduce the concept of self-sufficiency. The American way is to thrive on honest competition, to engage in fair play, to conquer the environment and to be the "best" as long as no one else is harmed. One should determine one's own fate and pursue one's own essence. In other words, one must be reliant on one's self because no one else will assume that responsibility. The text books of the 19th and early 20th century abound with such sentiments.

A different method of solving the basic existential dilemma of self and community encourages cooperation, self-effacement, little or no overt competition, harmony with the environment and a strong sense of commitment to community. The community becomes self-sufficient and members of the community are seen as interdependent rather than independent. Self-reliance is not sought because it is not an important characteristic of that particular culture. In fact, too much self-reliance is not acceptable because of the need for cooperation and interdependence: it is not the practice of community members to express only self. This basic and fundamental difference in cultural orientation accounts for much of the difficulty in communication in rural Alaskan schools, and it seems that with appropriate training it could be reduced or eliminated as a source of conflict.

Conclusion

Through the gathering of materials in the everyday speech world of rural principals, we have produced evidence that the study of this speech community allowed us entre' into the more complex processes of human cognition. It was not important to this study as to how the principal learned his world view; rather, it would seem more important to eventually increase his awareness of himself as a culture-bearer. Indeed, how does one increase awareness in a cross-cultural context to provide an understanding of potentially conflicting world views? The process of enculturation, or culture learning is a very powerful process that all humankind experiences. This culture learning leads to an integrated and persistent cognitive view of how the world functions, and it is most difficult to change.

Humans are frequently trapped by their culture learning into believing that their way is the only way and that other solutions to existential problems are, at best, inadequate or inferior to their own. Individuals frequently carry this ethnocentrism into the cross-cultural situation with them. Most often they are unaware of how this affects their day-to-day approach to life. Apparently, they do not realize how their perfectly rational decisions in day-to-day operations in a cross-cultural context are affected by a world view based on a Western ideology, an ideology that is culture-specific and culture-bound.

If administrators and teachers become aware of the values encoded in folklore will it improve their decision making? There is not set and simple answer -- so, it could be asked: will it hurt their ability to make intelligent decisions? I say no! This paper has attempted to demonstrate that folklore provides an avenue to examine values, meanings and ideas that lead to the plans and strategems of school management. It is this author's belief that awareness of this phenomenon will make administrators conscious of their behavior and encourage them to change and modify existing patterns of behavior. This study was conducted in hopes that the results would have some impact on the practice of educational administration in rural Alaska.

Finally, through the study of occupational folklore, utilizing an ethnographic approach to determine cultural context and directed interviews to establish the nature and genre of folklore, we can readily identify self-reliance as an important core value that is a component of a world view that affects the outlook the administrator has on the process of formal education. Decisions and policy will favor, then, an orientation toward self-reliance. If the receiving culture is not perceived to be in possession of this value in the same priority, conflict can arise. Consequently, folklore provides but one more indication of the cultural barriers that must be overcome to reconcile the variety of expectations of schools in rural Alaskan communities. There needs to be training available to rural teachers and principals that would assist them in coming to grips with value discontinuities that they encounter in the everyday operation of rural schools.

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Part IV

Teaching/Learning Issues

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PROMISES TO KEEP

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For the first time in the history of formal schooling in Alaska, Alaskan Natives have become a viable presence in the schools in roles as certificated teachers. To an equally important, albeit different, degree Alaskan Natives are now participating in educational policy decisions as members of locally elected school boards and village advisory school boards.

The struggle to gain authentic control of their children's education is one that involves multifaceted efforts. Future successes in these efforts depend to a measurable extent on a particular role of a Native teacher. Becoming a classroom teacher and receiving the official sanction that accompanies certification are the initial steps; the subsequent step is at least as important, although it has received scant attention. Specifically, it is crucial that a Native teacher be allowed and encouraged to develop his or her own teaching style in order that Native students receive the total benefits from the Native teacher's presence. Research about a Native teacher's impact on village school education is limited. However, it seems probable that the development of a Native teacher's individual teaching style is currently encumbered by institutional structures and constraints, community images and sanctions, and the limitations of the teacher's own educational past.

A Native teacher's presence in the classroom is a recent phenomenon, currently limited to only about four percent of the total number of Alaskan teachers. Therefore, it would be premature to evaluate the ramifications in a precise manner, except for some of the most obvious advantages and disadvantages.

Undoubtedly, we can assume that there will be qualitative changes in the classroom experiences of Alaskan Native children who have Alaskan Native teachers. However, an examination into the nature of these changes seems to reveal some limitations on

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major changes that can occur under present conditions. The potential that the introduction and utilization of Alaskan Native teachers holds is somewhat tempered by the structural characteristics of the schools, their curricula, and the school districts that will employ the teachers. Compounding this is the teacher's own experience as a student, and in some cases, as a former employee. The mere presence of a Native will not effect the changes necessary to attain complementary and responsive schools for the villages in rural Alaska.

Although more Alaskan Native teachers are being hired, the indigenous language is being used in some instructional instances, and the subject matter has changed slightly, the schools are essentially the same as they were preceding Native teacher employment. Nor have the cultural and social organization of the school, the acculturation and assimilation of children, or the organization and priority of valuable knowledge changed significantly. As the history of Alaskan Natives' education demonstrates, schools play more of a part in shaping the future than simply providing a means to learning literacy skills (Holthaus and Collins, 1973; Darnell, 1979).

Rural Alaskan schools did not evolve naturally from the needs of the residents, the parents, or the children who were to attend the schools. Instead, the schools were organized and controlled by non-Native people who often attempted to "civilize" the Natives. The patterns established in Alaskan schools are similar to those established for other Native Americans in that they contributed to the destruction and disruption of the social fabric of the cultures.

Patterns of life changed as Alaskan Natives settled into permanent village sites to be near the schools and then adapted their subsistence lifestyles accordingly. Few of the "benefits" of American education were ever achieved. Instead, Native languages were denied in the school: this sometimes led to a total or near total replacement of English in the community. Valuable subsistence and survival skills, formerly taught by family members during what was now the "school day," became superseded by school work.

Currently there are cosmetic changes in the curriculum, a limited use of indigenous languages, and an allowance for Native teachers to portray the "artifacts" of their cultures in bilingual/bicultural classes. However, in order to change bilingual/bicultural classrooms (in this instance, we mean any classroom where most participants are of a culture different from the dominant culture), it would be helpful to examine just where culture reveals itself in the classroom. In so doing, the areas where a discrepancy can occur between the culture of the school and the culture of the community may be determined.

The most visible area where culture manifests itself is in the subject matter of the curriculum. This visibility makes it the ideal area for change and revision. Conversely, this feature also makes it easier to promote only surface adjustments. As "bilingual/bicultural" curricula and various subject areas integrate the artifacts of the local culture into their educational program to better reflect the local physical environment, there is little attention paid to functions of curricula other than transmitting facts.

The skills and knowledge the educational organization chooses to convey to the students are linked to the school's socio-cultural environment. The school determines the essential body of knowledge that will theoretically prepare the student for the future. Inseparable from this is the socialization process the student learns, which, ideally, prepares the student for a role in society. It has been pointed out that the school is a microcosm of the wider society that reflects the norms and values of the world beyond school (Lightfoot, 1978). This is achieved, at least in part, through structural arrangements and the promotion of appropriate behavior patterns within the school. The school setting provides conditions that are not available in other settings so that the experiences can lead to acquisition of the society's norms and values. American schools have changed their structure and the behaviors promoted within it to meet the roles that are required to fit into an industrial system (Bowles, 1972).

A number of norms have been identified as having particular relevance to the economic and political participation in industrial societies (Dreeben, 1967). Independence is one of them, i.e., learning to do things on one's own, being self-reliant, being subject to the scrutiny of an authority figure. Another one is achievement, i.e., being competitive, working to master a situation, and working to change and adapt the environment rather than accepting it fatalistically. Placing individuals into categories; having them do the same task at the same time; and confining their interests to the task at hand, are some others. Children participate in these norms at school, and schools contribute to the emergence of these norms in the child (Dreeben, 1967). An Alaskan village school, having a curriculum and a structure that is similar (if not identical) to a mainstream American school, results in socializing children into a society and culture that does not yet exist for them.

The social and cultural setting of an Eskimo or Indian village in Alaska differs from the suburban, urban, and rural communities of mainstream America. There are differences in size, accessibility, economic base, housing, language, social organization, and cultural values, among others. If a school's characteristics reflect the society in which it exists, then a village school's characteristics should reflect the norms and values of the village: the behavior and social structure within the school should complement the culture beyond its walls. Quite obviously they do not. This is reminiscent of continual struggle experienced by other minority groups within the United States.

There are many areas in the classroom where culture plays a major role in determining the required mode of behavior. These can lead to a discrepancy and conflict between the home, community, and the school. From a larger perspective, this discrepancy can be seen in how a classroom is organized, i.e., in the ways children are permitted to interact with each other, to make decisions, to solve problems, and the style of learning that is encouraged in the classroom (Barnhardt, 1980). These factors can have a direct correlation to whether a student succeeds, based on the cultural orientation that child brings to the classroom and the classroom's receptiveness and utilization of that background or the opposition and rejection of that orientation (Cockerham and Blevins, 1976). The discrepancy also exists in the ways that a teacher expects a child to act within the classroom context and is inextricably linked to that child's successful negotiation of the many interactions that occur daily. Some of these have been perceived in preferred modes of sharing; working well with others; being fair; settling disputes; learning standards of work performance; cooperation; mutual assistance; and punishment (Sieber, 1979). All of these, plus the many others that flow from them, are culture-bound in their connotation of what is "acting right" in that situation.

Alaskan Native children, moving back and forth between school and home, may know what to do or what is expected of them given a set of circumstances. However, the solution may conflict between home and school, and a difficult choice must be made. The values of the school system do not originate with the consent and participation of the parents. In fact, it was not until the past five years that Native parents were even provided with formal means to influence the school.

One might expect that many of these interactional differences would be eliminated, or at least minimized, with the advent of Native teachers. Current research that examines classrooms in which all participants are Alaskan Natives should analyze potential teacher/student congruencies that may be occurring subliminally to the current classroom structure of interactions (Barnhardt, 1981).

However, Alaskan Native teachers also are caught between the preferred values and goals of the community and those of the school. Native teachers are required to implement the curriculum and organize the classroom and daily schedule appropriately -- in a sense to "buy into" the brand of discipline and behavior espoused by the school and other teachers. In some cases, Native teachers are rejected by individuals within the community for having "sold out" to the system.

A Native teacher is usually one of the first people within a village community to graduate from a college or university and stay in the village to work, and he or she is subsequently under close scrutiny by school personnel and community members. Perhaps more critically, the school and community watch very carefully for evidence of "good teaching," possibly to a much greater extent than they scrutinize those teachers who come from "outside." Local teachers who have grown up in the village or surrounding area have been acclimated to the inherent village socialization status. They are more attuned to the subleties and intricacies of the village social system and, consequently, are subject to the prevailing temper and mood.

A Native teacher is measured against a "good" Caucasian teacher (and often measures her or himself against such a criteria). But who are these models of "good" teachers? The only available models are non-Native teachers, who are often unfamiliar with and insensitive to the mores and communicative styles of the village. Such "model" teachers are implicitly, at best, espousing the values and practices of mainstream America. As this "good teacher" role is carried out by a Native teacher, however unconsciously, it may serve to negate the styles and natural practices of that individual. Furthermore, what may be acceptable from a non-Native teacher may be totally reprehensible from a Native teacher who should "know better." As the Native teacher adapts to the "good" teacher's behavioral patterns, the differences in classroom teaching practices become increasingly less noticeable.

There are, of course, differences -- particularly in the area of interaction between teacher and students. Research outside of Alaska has demonstrated that differences in cultural background and orientation may interfere with efficient classroom learning (Philips, 1972). When the teacher and students come from the same culture, there naturally will be improvements in the quality of the interaction that takes place, ultimately resulting in enhanced quality of students' learning. Limited research that has been conducted (in Alaska) in the past few years substantiates this (Collier, 1973; Scollon and Scollon, 1979; McNabb, 1979). These studies show direct parallels to

Native Americans' situations in the "lower 48." However, the scope of this paper cannot adequately cover the breadth of that topic. What we can say is that a combination of Native teachers and Native students should help to decrease cultural miscommunication which is so often translated as the student's lack of understanding, disrespect and resistance, or a lack of motivation on the part of Native children in the presence of a non-Native teacher.

Although such interactional dissonance will be substantially reduced, there is much that inhibits a Native teacher from teaching according to his or her own methods. The perceptions as to what should occur in school are often shaped by what schools have done in the past and the ambiguous definitions for "school teacher." The collective educational past of a community, in conjunction with the teacher's own past, has been shown to exert a powerful influence on people who are establishing their own school systems after a long period of outside influence and colonial rule (Kimball, 1974).

School administration also does its part to insure the continuation of the status quo by consistently reinforcing the process that most teachers go through before they even enter the classroom. Typically, the Native teacher has first been hired as an aide, possibly as a bilingual instructor, and then has matriculated from a teacher education program. Finally, the new teacher must pass an interview for the job. This teacher is usually a "safe bet" to fit into the total school program and conform to all of the normative behaviors shaped by the non-Native teaching staff.

Socialization of a new teacher into acceptable teaching behavior patterns is carried out by members of the school staff. Interestingly enough, many Alaskan Native teachers have been trained almost exclusively in alternative methods for rural cross-cultural classrooms. Although they originally seemed to agree that such methods might be more appropriate for village schools, once they began teaching, Native teachers reverted back to the traditional methods currently in use. This is, of course, a typical response for beginning teachers. The pressures on a new teacher to behave in ways congruent with the established role of the "good teacher" is very difficult to resist (McPherson, 1972). The critical point here is that this new teacher has a cultural heritage and cultural background that is distinctly different from her or his non-Native counterparts and predecessors. It is difficult for a Native teacher to withstand these pressures and proceed with responsible teaching.

Any rural Alaskan teacher's role, simply stated, is to prepare Native students to live a productive life within the village at present and in the future. This acquisition of skills is complicated for Native students because it requires skills to deal with continued infringement as well as skills for commuting back and forth from the rural areas to the regional and urban centers. Specific literacy skills and knowledge, a recognition of cultural differences, and a strong background in the students' own cultural heritage are but the bare minimum for survival. Other skills, equally as important but as yet unspecified, must be taught in the schools in order to guarantee the self-determination of Native peoples in Alaska. To date, few school districts have even begun to ask the question as to what these skills might be. There only have been surface attempts to talk with community members about this issue. Native teachers, trained in alternative curricula, potentially are in a strong position to help determine exactly which skills might be necessary for the future. Such decisions need not create radical deviations from the current curricula but can supplement and enhance the curricula to make them more responsive to current needs in rural Alaska.

For the vast majority of the schools in rural Alaska, there has been a rapid increase in the demand for standardized, district-wide curricula. As the Rural Educational Attendance Areas (which emerged in 1976) are becoming more established, curriculum developers and administrators are seeking unified texts and curricula for all grades. Such curricula are often based on linear learning and require little teacher preparation time, limited teacher instruction, extensive recordkeeping, and the breaking down of subject areas into segmented pieces which, theoretically, can be easily measured. These changes have sometimes resulted from a belief that Indian and Eskimo children are culturally, socially, and academically disadvantaged, and that structured curricula will somehow compensate. This theory, too prominent in schools with minority children, is carried to an extreme in Alaska. The number of students placed in special education and remedial classrooms is sometimes as high as 70 or 80 percent. This results, in part, from the fact that special education and other resource people are typically and traditionally those educators who are not trained to be sensitive to cultural differences. Such differences often affect the evaluation of a Native student's test results and subsequent placement. Unfortunately, it probably will be a considerable number of years before Native teachers hold the majority of positions in special education and other resource areas. Also, the limited body of research that has addressed these issues is rarely disseminated, much less considered for use by local school district administrations. Even the standard curriculum in regular classroom work is often taught on the level of "deficiency mentality," that is, that Native students are not capable of learning on grade level or are not able to learn the quantity of material that students in the "Lower 48" are expected to achieve. One common misconception seems to be that in order for rural youth to learn, the content must be delivered in a slow, drill-like, repetitive manner.

These highly structured curricula dictate the content to be learned and, most unfortunately, the mode whereby the teacher presents the material and the children respond. Curriculum consultants and school district administrators, knowing little about learning styles of the Native population, determine the mode. This rigid and routinized form of education very subtly indoctrinates the students to the behavior patterns of mainstream America.

Two additional factors will influence the effectiveness of Native teachers in Alaska. First of all, community participation may ultimately foster changes that allow the Native teacher more freedom to teach in a manner unencumbered by Western tradition. Valuable skills and cultural knowledge are in the hands and heads of community members whose participation would be a welcomed addition to the skills of a small village school. However, the current state of affairs makes it seem ridiculous for a community member to consider working in the school as a volunteer: the proliferation of funded supplementary programs has provided schools with a plethora of paid, part-time positions. Nor is the environment of the school conducive to volunteer work, because the structure of the daily schedule and tightness of structured curricula do not accommodate impromptu and/or varying structures of community participation. Nevertheless, increased participation would provide community people with an informed picture of what actually goes on in school, and would provide the teachers and students with alternative models for their own respective roles in learning. And, finally, community participation in schooling would inject the classroom, and school in general, with a set of values and a style of teaching that rarely has been represented previously.

Many schools in Alaska exist as institutions that are physically and ideologically separate from the community. Such isolation of the classroom from the community invites misunderstandings, distrust and territoriality between teachers and parents (Lightfoot, 1978). Such an arrangement makes it easy for teachers and administrators to use the students' home life and parents as scapegoats in the education process. One might expect that Native teachers would not experience this problem. On the contrary, some Native teachers are finding resistance from the community in their dealings with children, particularly in the area of discipline. Prior to their employment, certain family ties, responsibilities, and leveling mechanisms for social positions had been clearly defined within the community. Perhaps a violation of these prior relationships creates feelings of animosity between community members and local Native teachers. Over time, as communities become more used to seeing their own members as members of the school faculty, such dissonance, particularly in the area of classroom management and control, may improve.

As Native teachers comprise a larger percentage of the total number of teachers in rural Alaska, qualitative changes should occur. One of those changes may well be improved interaction between students and teachers. Native teachers, having a better understanding of village life, may understand students' values and interactional styles that have traditionally and incorrectly been perceived as a hindrance to classroom learning.

In cases where the language of the community is different from that of the school, Native speakers could use the language in the classroom to enhance learning. Other significant changes can be effected: more community influence (through formal channels and also through informal networks of village life in which a Native teacher is more likely to participate than a non-Native); curriculum content that reflects the environment of villages and the probable future; changes within the established school day schedule that better reflect the village's traditional schedule; and, finally, an incorporation of traditional Alaskan Native values and beliefs in the classroom socialization process.

With very few exceptions, these changes in the structure and content of the village schools are yet to be seen. With the minute number of Native teachers currently employed in Alaska's schools, and the lingering effects of collective educational pasts of Native teachers and village people, major change is difficult and will only occur over a relatively long period of time.

Given the past history of formal education in Alaska, the resistance to change of a bureaucratic school structure, and the pressures to conform to the accepted notion of what a "good" teacher is, the opportunity for innovative Native teachers to surface is fraught with obstacles. Unless there is initiative and opportunity for Native teachers to follow in the footsteps of their non-Native counterparts, schools will retain the status quo, and Native teachers will be merely a more efficient agent of the accculturative mission of the school.

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TUNING-IN: ATHABASKAN TEACHERS AND ATHABASKAN STUDENTS

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Introduction

Since 1794, when the Russians first established settlements on Kodiak Island, schools have been a permanent fixture in Alaska. With the schools have come a wide variety and large number of teachers who have journeyed far from their own homes to teach in Alaska's schools. Missionary zeal, the lure of high salaries, or a quest for adventure have often been the motivating forces responsible for the steady influx of teachers to Alaska from Outside. Today, nearly 200 years after the first schools opened, the vast majority of teachers in Alaska's rural communities continue to come from places other than Alaska.

The importation of teachers from outside the state has had its advantages and disadvantages. Teachers from somewhere else usually bring with them new perspectives, new ideas, and very often a great deal of enthusiasm. However, these qualities are almost invariably dampened by the reality of long harsh winters and the prolonged isolation from familiar people, places and goods.

Adjustments to the physical environment are minor, however, compared to the complications that are created by the fact that Alaska is composed of diverse groups of people whose cultural backgrounds often differ radically from those of teachers from Outside. It doesn't take teachers long to discover that their own value systems, life styles and ways of teaching and learning are often not shared or even appreciated by the students and families in the communities they are trying to serve. This discovery can quickly lead to feelings of frustration, anger, inadequacy and anxiety for teachers and students, which in turn often leads to dropping out -- by teachers and students. The annual turnover of teachers in Alaska's rural schools is notoriously high, and school attendance and test score statistics indicate

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that high numbers of rural students continue to tune out, both physically and mentally, long before they graduate.

A question that has been debated for many years by parents, teachers, school officials and teacher training institutions is: "Would some of the problems related to teaching in rural Alaskan schools be relieved if local people were available to teach in their own communities?" Until recently, answers to this question have been purely hypothetical, however, because only a handful of local people were teaching in bush communities. ("Local" people in rural Alaska are primarily Native people: Aleuts, Eskimos and Indians.) Only within the last few years have social, economic, and political forces brought about opportunities for a significant number of Alaskan Natives to receive education degrees and become certified teachers. Today, approximately three percent of the teachers in Alaska are Alaskan Natives.

The small but growing cadre of Native teachers finally makes it possible to begin to examine more directly some of the unanswered questions about the contributions that Native teachers are able to make to the schooling processes in their own communities. The purpose of this paper is to describe the preliminary findings of one study that attempts to address those questions.

An Athabaskan School

At the beginning of the 1979-80 school year, an elementary school in an Interior Alaska Athabaskan community opened its doors for its eleventh year of operation as a state-supported school. (Schools had existed in the community since 1889, operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Catholic Church). The three Native teachers, who comprised the faculty of the elementary school, were returning to the same positions they had held for the past four years. They were members of the community -- two Athabaskan women and one Athabaskan man. The school was the only multi-teacher school in Alaska where all of the teachers were Native. This fact alone made the school interesting, but far more intriguing was the fact that schooling in this community appeared to be working. Students were performing well by nearly all traditional standards. Test scores were on or above the national average and were higher than in past years; attendance was good; discipline was not a problem, and students participated eagerly in class activities. Teachers were spending a high proportion of time working with students on academic tasks and only a small amount of time doing classroom management (organizing, disciplining, housekeeping, etc.). Students, likewise, were spending most of their time-on-task doing the kinds of things we expect students to do: math, reading, writing, etc. The general picture was one of a school running smoothly and successfully, but it was not immediately apparent just how this smoothness and success was being achieved. What were these teachers doing to get the students so interested in the schooling process?

Development of the Project

One group of people with a special interest in knowing more about the schooling process in classrooms taught by Alaska Native teachers was the University of Alaska's Cross-Cultural Education Development Program (X-CED). X-CED is a program designed specifically to train Native people to become teachers. Since its beginning in 1970, sixty Alaskan Natives have earned bachelor's degrees in Cross-Cultural Education.

In January of 1979, Wendy Rosen Esmailka (an X-CED Field faculty member) and I (a graduate student at the time) submitted a proposal to the National Institute of Education (NIE) to support a study which would allow us to video tape the interaction of teachers and students and look specifically at the teaching styles of the three Athabaskan teachers in the school described above. The purpose of the study was to gather information that would assist faculty and students in developing guidelines and materials for the X-CED teacher training program. The proposal was funded by NIE, so, with support and encouragement of the community and the teachers, in February of 1980, Esmailka moved temporarily to the community to begin video taping. Since the funding and timeline of this study were limited, there was no attempt to document or formally study activities outside the classroom.

Video taping was done on three different occasions over a time period of two months in each of the three classrooms. Using a portable reel-to-reel black and white video camera, approximately twelve hours of tape were collected from each classroom.

After completing the video taping, Esmailka returned to her X-CED teaching position in another village and began viewing and analyzing the tapes. Assisting her with the project were this author and two consultants, Fred Erickson, from the University of Michigan, and Ron Scollon, from the University of Alaska. The three classroom teachers were not formally involved in the process of viewing and analyzing the tapes, although they were highly supportive and were informally involved and consulted throughout the project. Several other people interested in education in rural Alaska contributed ideas and suggestions that are included in this report. Since many of the observations were done collectively, there has been no attempt to credit any one individual. The interpretations presented here are the responsibility of the author.

This report presents our initital, tentative ideas about teaching and learning in these particular classrooms. We hope that it will generate further work with the same or similar material and will encourage others to use video tape to examine classrooms.

Working with Video Tape

We found that using video tape for examining classroom interaction was especially useful for the following reasons:

1. Video tape allowed us to work with the same data both individually and as a group. With some members living several hundred miles apart, this was necessary for the project
2. Video tape provided a way of capturing and preserving the classroom experience in a form that was as close to the original as possible. It offered a sample of classroom experiences that we felt comfortable calling "real," since it is difficult for any teacher or student to role play or "put on a show" for six hours of continuous video taping
3. Video tapes provided us with a valuable teaching and learning tool because our material can now be used by others to generate more ideas and to verify our results
4. Video tape allowed us to look "beneath the surface" and observe behavior that would not have otherwise been visible. The video tapes provided us with a real-time picture of activities in the classrooms, and allowed us to go over the same material.

Erickson, Mehan, Van Ness and the Colliers (see bibliography) have all used video tape or film to study classrooms, and each discusses in detail the advantages and disadvantages of the use of the medium in schools.

First Impressions

Our first viewings of the tapes left some of us feeling bewildered and disappointed. Those of us who were novice video-viewers saw nothing that looked particularly exciting, new, or dramatic in the teaching styles of these Native teachers: the classrooms appeared to be relatively routine.

Some situations were obviously different from those usually described in educational literature, but these stemmed from the fact that this was a small, rural school rather than a large, urban one. For example, each teacher's room was comprised of students from two different grade levels (first/second, third/fourth, fifth/sixth); the total number of students in each room was small (nine, thirteen, ten); and one teacher shared a partitioned room with the kindergarten teacher.

Other than these differences, there was nothing that suggested any radical departure in teaching style from what one would expect to see in most classrooms with non-Native teachers. These three teachers seemed to be doing the regular routines of "school teaching." They were having reading lessons with small groups of students; they were putting math problems on chalkboards for students seated at work tables; they were grading dittoed work sheets as they sat at their desks, and they were working with and around teacher aides. In all of these activities they were using standard curriculum materials.

Even the physical appearance of the classrooms gave no hint of any dramatic differences. The teachers' desks were in the front of the rooms, number and letter charts were in place above the chalkboard, and pencil sharpeners, phonographs and bookshelves were easily seen. There were no fancy learning centers, no unusual arrangements of desks and chairs (the students sat at tables) and no large eye-catching posters or bulletin board displays. From our own experiences as teachers, from our associations with other teachers, from knowledge of educational research literature, and from watching other classroom video tapes, we were inclined to think of the teaching styles of these three Native teachers as basically standard or traditional.

With our initial focus of attention on the teachers and the physical appearance of the classrooms, it was easy to overlook the fact that the students in these rooms were also acting very much like students are supposed to, but not like Native students are supposed to, at least according to most of the studies done on Native American students in educational settings. The students in these classrooms did not fit the stereotype of the passive, shy, withdrawn or quiet Native student. Instead, they were eager and anxious to participate. They volunteered answers in math, they talked "loud enough," they raised their hands, they read aloud and read well, and they even asked many questions.

It became apparent to us that it was the superficial similarities in the classrooms that were immediately obvious, but the more significant differences were yet to be discovered. We were seeing Native teachers using what appeared to be very conventional ways of teaching while at the same time we were seeing Native students responding in very non-traditional ways. Students were participating, achieving, laughing and learning. Although we saw nothing particularly novel in our first glimpses of these "Native" teaching styles, we now felt that there were some important subtle differences in these teacher-student interactions.

Tuning-In

We began to review and re-review small segments of tape where there appeared to be a considerable amount of teacher-student interaction[1]. We focused on the subtle kinds of behavior teachers used as they interacted with students. We examined what they were actually doing on a minute-by-minute and second-by-second basis. During this process we began to sense that these teachers had an uncanny ability to know and understand their students, and we found ourselves repeatedly using the term "tuning-in" to describe several different kinds of teacher-student behaviors. We saw tuning-in as an ability of the teacher to adapt to the world of the students and we began to see evidence of this tuning-in at several levels. We saw teachers tuning-in rhythmically with their speech and body movements, tuning-in by listening, and tuning-in specifically to individual students. Somehow, these teachers were tuning-in in a way that prevented their students from being "turned-off" by the schooling process.

From analyzing the video tapes, we can describe some of the ways the teachers tune-in to their students[2]. Of course we cannot prove that there is a direct cause-and-effect relationship between what we call tuning-in behavior and student success, but we think it likely that the behaviors we've called tuning-in are important to the success of the teacher-student interaction. With this information, it would now be possible to set up more systematic and controlled studies with Native and non-Native teachers to see if some of the identified behaviors correlate with the students' success.

The following examples have been chosen from among several in the tapes. Some describe one teacher whereas others describe all three. There were certainly important variations among the teachers, but the similarities seemed to be more significant than the differences. Since two female teachers and one male teacher were involved in the study, both masculine and feminine pronouns are used throughout the report. They are used arbitrarily, however, in order to avoid identification of any one particular teacher.

Rhythm

The first issue we focused on in each of the three classrooms was "rhythm." We were interested in examining the different rhythms used by the teachers and the students in both their verbal and non-verbal movements. Our interest in the issue of rhythm was prompted by current research in the disciplines of physics, linguistics, music and psychology.

People have long been aware that rhythmic patterns exist at all levels of the natural world, from the vibration of microscopic molecules to the movement of planets. We also know that there are recognizable rhythms in the human body such as the heart beat. Current research now provides evidence to support the notion that definite rhythms also exist in human speech and in human body movement.

In his book, The Turning Point, Fritjof Capra comments:

> Rhythmic patterns are a universal phenomenon, but at the same time they allow individuals to express their distinctive personalities. The manifestation of a unique personal identity is an important characteristic of human beings, and it appears that this identity may be, essentially, an identity of rhythm. Human individuals can be recognized by their characteristic speech patterns, body movements, gestures, breathing, all of which represent different kinds of rhythmic patterns . . . As in the process of perception, rhythm plays an important role in the many ways living organisms interact and communicate with one another. Human communication, for example, takes place to a significant extent through the synchronization and interlocking of individual rhythms . . . opposition, antipathy, and disharmony will arise when the rhythms of two individuals are out of synchrony (1982:300,302).

Since we wanted to learn more about the rhythmic patterns in the interactions between the teachers and students, we used methods and information developed by Erickson and Scollon, as they were both consultants for this study. Their previous work helped to illustrate the central role of rhythm in the communication process, and they showed that talk in all contexts is rhythmically timed to a regular underlying meter or tempo.

Erickson had used his work on rhythmicity as a basis for studying teacher-student interaction at both the elementary school and junior college level. He found many situations where people failed to understand one another because they were not rhythmically integrated. They were not in synchrony with one another. In one example of an interaction between a teacher and a kindergarten child, an analysis of a video tape clearly shows the consequences of the use of different rhythmic patterns.

A kindergarten child is being given a screening test to determine if placement for special education is necessary. The test is oral and has a typical question-answer format. (In previous studies Erickson had discovered that routine question-answer sequences in school counseling sessions are performed in a rhythmically regular fashion, with a "sing-song kind of cadence.") Part way through the test the teacher asks the child a test question and the child responds with the correct answer, but not at the time that the tester expects the answer. This momentary disruption in the expected rhythm of the question-answer sequence causes the teacher to not "hear" the answer the child has given. The child responds a second time with the correct answer, but again, the timing of her response does not fit into the teacher's expected rhythmic pattern. In a third attempt, the child changes her answer, gives a "wrong" response but gives it at the "right" time. The tester hears this response and marks it down as the official answer to that test question. In these and other situations that Erickson refers to as "conversational traffic jams," he finds that the child and the teacher who do not achieve rhythmic synchrony fail to understand each other to the detriment of the child.

Scollon's work on rhythm was prompted partially by his search for a way to represent Athabaskan oral narratives in a written medium. He found that pausing was a central issue in the interaction between storytellers and their audiences, so he studied the phenomenon of tempo as a way of learning more about the role of pausing and about the role of rhythm in interaction. In his samples of a wide variety of situations he was able to demonstrate that "ordinary talk, from a family breakfast to a play-by-play of a baseball game, from Groucho Marx to the narratives of Athabaskan tradition bearers, is rhythmically integrated in a fairly slow measure in 2/4 time" (1981b: 13).

Tempo, Density and Beat

In order to study the rhythm of the teachers and students we used a method developed by Scollon (1981a) for determining tempo and density. Tempo is a term often used to describe the rate at which something happens. In our study we used tempo to describe the speed of beats per minute. Metronomes are the familiar devices used by musicians to mark or set the speed of beats or the rate at which music is to be played or sung. They can be set to mark any number of beats per minute (usually between 40 and 210). The selected speed is what is called the tempo. When we listened for tempo we listened for patterns of strong beats and weak beats.

Density, on the other hand, is a term used by Scollon to refer to the number of notes or the number of words per measure or per minute. For instance, a piece of music that tells a musician to play sixteen notes per measure is more "dense" than one which calls for playing four notes per measure. Two musical pieces can be played at the same tempo (maybe eighty-eight beats per minute), but the piece that has numerous sixteenth notes will give the impression of being a faster piece of music. People's intuitions that music (or talking) is fast or slow is usually made on the basis of density rather than tempo. The following description helps to further explain these notions.

> As in music, the underlying tempo (of talk) is not to be confused with the rhythmic patterns superimposed on it. Some speakers superimpose a pattern of relatively few syllables per beat while others superimpose a pattern of a very high density. It came as a surpise to me to find that Groucho Marx, performing on his radio show, 'You Bet Your Life,' spoke in a very slow tempo (75.9 beats per minute). What gives the impression of rapid speech is the very high density of 4.62 words per measure. To trade on the parallel with music we can say that some speakers speak in quarter notes while others such as Groucho Marx speak in 32nd or even 64th notes. I find it useful to refer to this phenomenon as 'density' and to treat it as quite distinct from tempo (Scollon, 1981b: 7).

We also considered the amount of silence when we were gathering information about rhythm. We noted the silent beats and considered the percentage of silence in each sample. We came to realize that the popular notion of rhythm was not really adequate to allow us to make a detailed description of the rhythm of people's speech. We needed to consider all of the phenomena that constituted our intuitive sense of rhythm. When we talked about rhythm in speech we were not using it as an analogy. We were saying that speech itself is rhythmical.

We made transcriptions of the audio segments we were analyzing and then began to listen for the "beat." Beat is defined in a wide variety of ways. Musicians often refer to it as a regulating time mark or a regulating force, and they describe beats as having strong or weak accents. Linguists usually talk about stress or emphasis instead of accent, and they define stressed syllables as those syllables that are uttered with a higher or lower pitch, a stronger intensity, a slight lengthening, a purer vowel quality or some combination of these. Although we were not trained as professional musicians or linguists we found that we could easily reach agreement on what we heard as "beats" in conversation.

We used a tape recorder that had the capacity to decrease the speed by twenty percent because we found that it allowed us to hear the beats and find the tempo more readily. After "finding" the beats, we counted them and used a stopwatch to check exactly the amount of real time that had elapsed (usually two to five minutes per sample), and then figured out the number of beats per minute. We used our marking of stressed or emphasized syllables to determine measure length and found, as did Scollon, that we consistently heard slow measures in 2/4 time with an accent pattern of strong and weak. We then placed our written transcription into a format that resembled a musical score.

Rhythm in the Classrooms

We examined samples of speech from reading groups in each of the three classrooms. In the first/second grade classroom the tempo of the teacher/student interaction was ninety-six beats per minute; in the third/fourth grade classroom it was ninety-one beats per minute; and in the fifth/sixth grade classroom the tempo was eighty-two beats per minute. Although this seems like a fast tempo the figures in themselves do not tell us anything definitive, since the tempo of any individual's speech varies with the situation. However, some informal research has suggested that the average tempo of children's speech may be faster than that of adults' (just as the average heart beat of a child is faster than that of an adult).

In order to gather information on tempos in other classrooms, we analyzed portions of audio tapes from reading lessons in the KEEP Project in Hawaii (Kamehameha Early Education Project) and from two Fairbanks primary classrooms. In the KEEP classroom the tempo was eighty-nine, and in the Fairbanks classrooms it was seventy-four and seventy-six. Thus, in our sample we found the tempo of the interaction to be faster in the classrooms of the Native Alaskan teachers and the KEEP teacher. At this point, these figures are useful primarily as a basis for comparison for future studies.

The most interesting observation to emerge from our study of tempo and density came from those situations where the conversation between a teacher and a student was disrupted and the tempo consequently became ambiguous or uncertain. When this occurred, some of the teachers resolved the ambiguity by allowing the student to reset the tempo and then adjusting their tempo to "fit," whereas other teachers appeared to use the disruption as an opportunity for establishing a tempo of their own choosing and then requiring the student to make the adjustment. In the Native teachers' classrooms it appears that the resolution of the ambiguity was in favor of the students, whereas in the non-Native teachers' classrooms, the teachers' perception of the tempo was enforced.

Ensemble and Classroom Rhythms

Several people have used the term "rhythmic ensemble" to describe the state that is achieved when participants in an interaction are communicating with a rhythm or tempo which is comfortable for both or all of them. Participants in ensemble work together as they submit their movements to a common time measure or a common pace as they operate on the same beat. When people achieve ensemble they not only feel more comfortable, but they also are able to communicate more successfully with fewer misunderstandings. Additionally, people who are in synchrony with one another are able to predict more accurately what will happen next.

> Speakers time their entrances according to the tempo set by preceding speakers. After entering in that rhythm, speakers often accelerate or retard their tempo to establish what is in effect a new tempo. It is very rare that any speaker will independently and arbitrarily begin speaking without first confirming the established tempo. Children at breakfast bang their spoons in the prevailing tempo and radio emcees make their announcements in the tempo of their theme songs. Conversationalists cough, sneeze, clear their throats, blow their noses, and laugh in rhythmic ensemble. Often after a long silence someone clears his or her throat in a gesture which predicts the following tempo as accurately as a conductor's silent 'one-two' before the orchestra's entrance . . . Ensemble is not just being together, but doing together . . . (Scollon: 1981b: 9)

Other Classroom Rhythms

We found evidence of ensemble not only in the verbal interactions of the teachers and students but also in the physical movements. In one section of the tape we turned off the sound and, using only visual cues, we focused on the non-verbal movements of the teacher and the students. We observed movements such as head nods, changes in arm, torso or head position, walking, and turning of pages. We then used these movements instead of stressed syllables to mark the beat and find the tempo. We discovered that in many situations the teachers were adjusting to tempos obviously set by the students.

In one instance, a teacher is sitting at her desk getting her papers and books ready for a reading lesson. Five children in the reading group are already at the reading table. They are busy reading aloud the words on the board, opening their books, talking with each other and getting up and down in their chairs. The students are in essence doing reading activities without the teacher, and they have a tempo well established before she comes on the scene. When the teacher gets up from her desk (about six feet away from the reading table) and begins to walk over to the students, she does so in exactly the same tempo that the students are using. Her footsteps and arm movements coincide with their beat. She sits down at the table, opens her book, puts her hand toward the board and begins talking using the same rhythm that was established by the children. There is no attempt on the teacher's part to change the pattern already established by the students. It is a very smooth entrance into the group and there is no time or energy lost in the transition.

When relating this incident to a friend, who is also a Native Alaskan teacher, she expressed surprise that any teacher would want to set the pace for the students. She said that she felt far more comfortable coming into her classroom after the students had been there for a while, and indicated that she would feel frustrated if she didn't have a sense of where the students "heads were at" before she started each day. This is very different from the approach expressed by many non-Native teachers, who perceive that it is their role and responsibility to set the stage for what will happen.

We also noted that students often were allowed to talk and provide answers to questions in time slots chosen by them and not the teacher. A teacher would put a list of vocabulary words on the board and each child would be expected to read these aloud individually. (This was always preceded by a group reading of the words.) In each instance it was the child who set the pace for the oral listing of words; it was not the teacher's pointing stick that determined when the child would respond. Instead, the teacher adjusted to each child's individual tempo. We also observed that children often called out the answers to questions before the formal question was asked, and they were not penalized for doing so. (This answer-question format also occurred in the Odawa classrooms that Erickson and Mohatt studied.) We see these two behaviors as reflecting the teacher's respect for the students' own tempo and timing.

Rhythms and Reasons

What can research on rhythm tell us about teachers, students, classrooms and education? At this early stage, the only thing we know with certainty is that we need to learn more about the role of rhythm in all kinds of communication. In our study we have gathered some specific information on the tempos of interactions between teachers and students in six different classrooms. We have acquired information on different ways that teachers have resolved "out-of-synch" interactions. We also have found that in some situations it appears students are allowed to reset the tempo and resolve the ambiguity, whereas in others teachers determine the tempo.

We can only speculate on the reasons these rhythmic behaviors are occurring. Perhaps the Athabaskan teachers adjusted to the children's rhythms because Athabaskan people as a group have a strong underlying respect for children. Perhaps these Athabaskan teachers (and the KEEP teacher) were able to adjust to the rhythms of the children because they were more familiar with those rhythms. Aaron Copland, a composer, has written about people's discomfort in listening to unconventional rhythms such as those used by Stravinsky. He says "most listeners feel more 'comfortable' in the well-grooved, time-honored rhythms they have always heard" (1957:36). If Native students and teachers are familiar with one another's verbal and non-verbal rhythms, they probably not only feel more "comfortable" but they are able to function in this comfort zone in a way that allows them to actually achieve better academically, as Erickson's studies suggest.

It is possible that it is very difficult for us to hear or perceive unfamiliar rhythms just as it is often difficult to see things that we are not accustomed to seeing. Malcolm Collier's work with Native students and teachers has led him to suggest that "outside teachers sometimes perceive the rhythms of Native students as undirected random behavior with no internal integrity -- much as an unknown language appears to the ear to be a jumble of sounds with neither order nor meaning" (1981). Our own notions of rhythm are certainly shaped and biased by our Western perceptions, and it is possible that there are meaningful differences in rhythmic style just as there are differences in other aspects of communicative style.

Another possible explanation for the difference in the Athabaskan teachers' tuning-in behavior is that perhaps these Athabaskan teachers view their role as teachers in a fundamentally different way than do many other teachers. If teachers perceive themselves to be primarily listeners, they will interact differently rhythmically in communicative situations. Musicians often say that a listener has to "catch the beat." The interesting questions for classrooms are "who is the listener" and "who is catching the beat from whom?" It appears that some teachers see themselves primarily as listeners whereas others see themselves as the one to be listened to.

Other Ways of Tuning-In

Through further discussions and observations of the video tapes, and with the use of less formal methods of analysis, we were able to see evidence of teachers tuning-in to their students in other ways. The examples provided below are not supported by rigid factual data because time did not permit us to perform that kind of in-depth study.

Tuning-In by Listening

Teachers in all three classrooms were able to tune-in to their students because their classrooms were structured so that there was a high percentage of time in which the teachers were listening instead of talking. By providing quiet time, teachers were able not only to spend time actually listening to their students, but also were able to provide an atmosphere that was conducive to studying. We saw several instances of teachers sitting at their desks for long periods of time and not saying anything to the class as a whole. On these occasions the teachers were available to any student as resource persons and as listeners. (It is just this kind of situation, however, that often leads to accusations by administrators or other teachers, that "those teachers never seem to be teaching -- they spend time just sitting at their desks.")

In addition to providing time for listening and for studying, these teachers did not bombard their students with directions or instructions, and even discipline problems were resolved with very little talking. Other studies have indicated that in the average elementary school, about fifty percent of class time is spent in getting organized (Gump, 1975). We saw no example of the excess verbalization or interrupting that often occurs in classrooms, nor did we see instances of over-elaboration.

We also observed several smooth and rapid transitions from one classroom activity to another with just a minimum amount of talk from the teacher. In fact, there were times when we as observers had trouble determining just when one activity ended and another began. It was obvious to us, though, that the students were not at all confused. Since it was sometimes hard for us to determine where the boundaries were in the classroom transitions, we can speculate that it might also be difficult or frustrating for other outsiders. However, this kind of subtle transition can lead to misinterpretations by supervisors who sometimes describe it as "poor management."

In a separate but related issue we observed that teachers did not dominate the classroom with their talk; neither did they dominate with their physical presence. When we looked at the ways in which the teachers and the children moved around the classrooms, it appeared to us that patterns of movement and use of space were quite different from that in classrooms with non-Native teachers. The teachers did not claim a large amount of space in the room as their own (only their desks), and they did not "wander" around the room but moved directly from student to student. Overall, there was a sense of less movement than one usually sees in elementary classrooms. The teachers did not seem to need to dominate to the same degree that is evident in some classrooms: in some instances, the teachers blended in so completely with the students that it was actually difficult for us to "find" them in the classroom. For example, in one classroom in which a reading lesson was going on around a semicircular table, the teacher sat on the same side of the table with the students instead of across the table in the curved section where teachers are usually found. In addition, he took his turn at reading, along with the students.

These kinds of observations suggest to us that teachers who see part of their role as that of a support person have a very different kind of relationship with students from that of teachers who always see their role as that of a director. A support or resource person allows the students to define their specific needs and then responds to them, whereas a director defines those needs himself.

Fine-Tuning: Tuning-In to Individual Students

The video tapes provided us with numerous examples of what we sometimes called "fine-tuning," the common practice of the teachers to tune-in to their students as individuals in addition to tuning-in to them as a group. The examples described below are representative of the kinds of fine-tuning practices we observed.

At a general level we noted that the majority of each school day was spent in individual or small group activities rather than whole class activities. As the students worked independently, the teachers would move from student to student while they were working at their tables. The teachers would almost always kneel or squat down on the floor as they interacted with each student. These individual visits were not the quick-stop variety we sometimes see in classrooms where teachers give a cursory glance, offer a short comment and move on rapidly to the next student. Instead, they involved lengthy discussions of whatever the student was working on. Incidentally, it was interesting to note that the behavior of the class did not change even when there were long periods where the teacher's back was to the whole group.

During small-group lessons we could see that teachers were clearly tuned-in to individual strengths and weaknesses. In one instance, at the beginning of a math lesson, the teacher indicated to the group, by naming the children, that each of them was having trouble with different parts of the math lesson. She was tuned-in to the needs of the students as individuals. This public listing did not appear to be an embarrassment for any of the children since every child in the group was listed. It appeared to be taken as a simple acknowledgement that these areas needed to be worked on, and the teacher made no value judgments about such needs.

In another scene with a math group, five students were responding collectively and individually to problems that the teacher had on the chalkboard. Although the teacher was facing the board, it was obvious that she was monitoring who was and who was not answering. She was probably getting her cues from the sounds of the students' voices. Realizing that one child was not responding, she turned to her and asked her to come to the board where she began to work with her independently. She lowered her voice as she began to talk with the student; this was apparently a signal to the other students that this was going to be a private interaction.

As the teacher and student conversed quietly, the other students obviously knew well what was acceptable behavior during this private time. Although no rules were ever explicitly stated in this scene, it was evident that this kind of "privatizing" occurred often and the students respected such interactions and cooperated by not interfering. They could move quietly at their table but could not talk aloud. When the teacher raised her voice again it was apparently a signal (the only one we could detect) to the rest of the math group that the individual time was concluded and the larger group was once again part of the audience.

These fine-tuning practices imply an attitude of respect and confidence in the students' abilities as individuals. In this way, the teachers are able to pay close attention to each student without the "hounding" tendency that is so often characteristic of teachers.

The Teacher as Conductor

The concluding remarks for this report are based largely on a musical analogy -- the teacher as conductor. In this study, we found that borrowing concepts and terms from the field of music often allowed us to view teaching from a perspective that was not so heavily influenced by the traditional boundaries of educational thought.

Conductors use a wide range of styles as they direct musical groups. Some conductors stand in one spot on their podium and make only occasional small arm movements; some conductors move quickly from one side of the stage to another with much visible body movement; some conduct with their eyes closed, while others use their hand or nothing at all. A conductor of a jazz band or stage band usually uses a minimum number of signals and a small amount of time to help his group get started, and then he quickly and quietly blends into the group. In a jazz group the conductor is a member of the group who provides direction only when it is necessary. Most people have no problems accepting and appreciating a wide range of styles among conductors as long as the music sounds "good."

Just like conductors, classroom teachers also have a wide range of styles. In this study, our observations and analysis have generated information on the teaching styles of three Athabaskan teachers and expanded our definition of "successful teaching styles." These teachers sometimes "conducted" their classrooms in ways not generally advocated by educators, but these alternate ways of conducting did not interfere or prevent their students from learning. On the contrary, it is highly probable that they helped. This kind of information makes it difficult to support the idea that there is a particular set of competencies that can be identified as prerequisites to being a good teacher. Instead, the study lends credibility to the notion that there are indeed a wide variety of equally valid styles of teaching.

Athabaskan Teachers and Jazz Band Conductors

We would like to propose a parallel between the teaching styles used by the Athabaskan teachers and the conducting styles used for jazz bands. The use of this analogy does not imply that these three teachers taught in exactly the same way. Each teacher did have an individual style but the differences were minor compared to the similarity observed in the way each acted out the role of teacher.

The role of a jazz band conductor is to help his group get started and to then provide the necessary support. From the video tapes, we see that these teachers "conducted" their classrooms only when necessary. They provided direction and information to the students and then served in a supportive or resource role. They felt no obligation to continually perform for their students. Instead, they used subtle and, sometimes, almost imperceptible ways to keep things flowing. They did not occupy a lot of space or use a lot of visible and audible signals to guarantee that their class maintained ensemble. Like the jazz conductor, they often became a part of the group, providing support and direction with a minimum amount of interference.

Through a variety of ways of tuning-in, these teachers were able to achieve, and then utilize effectively, an impressive sensitivity to the strengths and weaknesses of individual students, and then follow through with a sincere confidence in their ability to perform. Even the formal and informal evaluation of the student's performance was based on the student's ability to actually perform the task itself and not on some alternate ability, such as providing elaborate verbal explanations of the task. A jazz director and an audience judge musicians on their ability to play the music, not on their ability to verbally describe what they are doing.

These video tapes also suggest to us that it is not the musical score, the curriculum, or choice of books that determine the success or failure of the jazz band or the classroom. It is instead the way in which the materials are used that is important. Even the most exciting and relevant piece of music or curriculum is useless unless the relationship between the teacher-conductor and the student-performer is one that will allow them to come together and move in harmony, and thus to achieve ensemble. A well-written curriculum is an asset, but it is not the only ingredient for success. Just as a conductor would not blame the music for a poor performance, we as teachers cannot use standard curriculum as an excuse for the failure of students to achieve success in a classroom.

Summary

This report has provided some subsurface views of the teaching styles of three Athabaskan teachers as they teach Athabaskan children at a school in their home community. We have attempted to disclose some of the significant features of the interactions between the teachers and their students. The next step, as we see it, is to ask ourselves the following questions: "What kinds of things do we know now about the teaching styles of Native teachers that we didn't know before?" and "What kinds of things do we still need to know?"

In response to the first question we can state that we do know some things we didn't know before. We can see in these video tapes that the Native teachers are without question "teachers" according to anyone's definition of the term. There are many similarities between the ways in which they teach and in the ways that are described in other educational studies. These teachers' repertoires do include the use of directives, spotlighting, and reprimands, but these are used less frequently, and the rules for using them are different. It is apparently the minor (and usually less apparent) differences in these classrooms that make the major difference for the students.

We can see in the video tapes that it is possible to achieve a high degree of student participation and to have a "smooth" classroom with only a minimum amount of directing by the teacher. However, it is only realistic to note that it might be personally uncomfortable for many teachers to refrain from doing the obvious teacher kinds of things, like moving about the room and talking a lot with students, and it is plausible that this kind of behavior could be a professional risk in some situations and could lead to accusations of "not teaching."

We also know now that the teaching styles used by these teachers do not force them to compromise educational standards in any way. Their personal relationships with the students do not interfere with their expectations that the students do as well academically as they are capable.

In response to the second question, we can state that this study has provided us with information about three Native teachers in one school in one community. Therefore, we cannot generalize from this study but we can use it as a basis for speculating and, more importantly, as a basis for generating and developing comparative studies. We have no way of knowing, for instance, whether we can relate the teaching styles of these three people to the fact that they are Athabaskan. Perhaps there is a sense of "Indianness" intrinsic to their way of relating to the students, but until we have studies of Native teachers with non-Native students and of non-Native teachers with Native students, we will not be able to make those kinds of generalizations. In addition, we don't know to what degree people can consciously alter or modify their own style of teaching. We do know, though, that in the Erickson-Mohatt study of teachers with Odawa Indian students, a non-Native teacher was able to alter his teaching style in ways that allowed him to be more like his Native colleague.

Although schools are sometimes characterized as inflexible and standardized institutions, these video tapes suggest that there are alternate routes to successful schooling experiences and these teachers and students were able to pursue these routes to their advantage. In planning for the future, it will be important for school systems and teacher-training institutions to provide school structures and training programs that will be open enough to allow teachers to conduct their classrooms in the style that is most appropriate for the situation. We need to provide schooling situations that will allow teachers to tune-in so that students don't tune-out.

Endnotes

[1] Since viewing and analyzing video tapes is an extremely time-consuming process, our first task was to limit the number of tapes to work with. There was a wide range in the quality of the tapes (caused by changing lighting in the rooms, malfunctioning equipment, changing positions of teachers and students, etc.), so some of the decisions on which of the thirty-six hours of tape to use were easy. We decided to select samples from each of the three classrooms that would provide a wide range of classroom activities. Written transcriptions were made of some sections of the tapes and a few of these were selected for in-depth study. The information presented in this report is based primarily on the discussions and hypotheses produced by repeated viewings of these few sections of tape, supplemented by the general insights gained from a more superficial review of all of the tapes.

[2] We hope that readers will realize how difficult it is to convey in writing something which can be very powerful and obvious in a visual or audio medium.

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SOCIAL CONTROL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN AN ALASKAN ATHABASKAN CLASSROOM

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Introduction

This paper presents a microethnographic analysis of the organization of behavior as six Koyukon Athabaskan students, one non-Indian student, and a Koyukon Athabaskan teacher "get ready" for an instructional activity in a rural Alaskan kindergarten classroom. The analysis of getting ready as an event in this classroom provides an example of the ways a Koyukon teacher and her students establish a social organizational structure to accomplish an instructional activity. Of particular importance to the analysis are the demonstration and display of the covert and indirect ways the Indian teacher exercises her classroom authority as she orchestrates the establishment of the whole groups' structure by the class. As the teacher and the students go about getting ready, they complete certain observable tasks, e.g., some of the students move their chairs to new locations in the classroom, the teacher distributes the workbooks containing the material for the coming instructional activity, and the students find the page in the workbook containing the exercise to be worked on. The ways in which the teacher and the students go about accomplishing these tasks also establishes the structural configuration of the social organization of the class for the coming instructional activity -- the teacher and the students working through the workbook exercise as a whole group.

The study was conceived as a preliminary venture to assess the utility of microethnographic analysis in providing insight into the workings of Alaskan "cross-cultural" classrooms. This term is conventionally used in Alaska to mean classrooms with students of Eskimo, Indian, or Aleut descent. The microethnographic analysis began through the process of video-taping and recording the movements and speech of the teacher and the kindergarten students. An eight-minute, fourteen-second sequence was selected for analysis and the teacher-student dialogue was transcribed and keyed to the video tape. The three segments analyzed include (1) the transition between the Bilingual lesson and the Reading lesson, (2) "getting ready" for the Reading lesson, and (3) the Reading lesson. Each of the student and teacher interactions was numbered and each of the students has the designator "S" plus a number. The designator for the teacher is "T".

The analysis was organized around the following questions:

1. What are socially significant structural elements or features of the organization of face-to-face interaction during the segment

2. How are these elements observable in the students' and teacher's behavior

3. How are these elements organized together as a system and how can such a system be analytically comprehended

4. What insights for substance and method in further research are suggested by this preliminary single case analysis?

Several assumptions were made in conducting this research. The first is that the behavior of the teacher and students during the segment is organized around participants' "definition of the situation," i.e., as the definition of the situation changes during the segment, the organization of the teacher's and students' behavior also changes (see Goffman, 1964, Kendon, 1975, Erickson, 1975 and Florio, 1976, for discussion of "situations" and "situated behavior"; see Cazden, 1970, Blom and Gumperz, 1972, for discussions of "situated verbal behavior").

The second assumption made is that the definition of the situation is negotiated or jointly elaborated by the participants (in this case the teacher and the students) in a process of continual monitoring and interpreting of the social environment -- the setting, the task, and each other's behavior -- that seeks discrimination of the context of social activity (Kendon, 1975; Cicourel, 1974; Goffman, 1961).

The third assumption made in conducting this research is that, as members monitor and interpret the social environment in face-to-face interaction, behaviors appropriate to the emerging definition of the situation are generated by the participants through a process of "tacit choice-making." Cicourel combines the interpretive capability and tacit choice-making by participants in positing the notion of "interpretive procedures," described as "constitutive of members' sense of social structure or social organization" (Cicourel, 1974, p. 44). Interpretive procedures serve the "executive function" for an individual in everyday social life in helping him to interpret the social environment (including the behavior of others) in negotiating a definition of the situation, and to select social behavior appropriate to the emerging definition of the situation from his communicative repertoire (Cicourel, 1974).

The fourth assumption is that the corpus of tacit knowledge operated on by an individual's interpretive procedures in negotiating the "definition of the situation" and in generating appropriate social behavior is *culturally organized*. Implicit in this assumption is a "cognitive theory of culture," discussed by Goodenough (1964; 1971; 1975) and Spradley (1972). According to this point of view, a society's culture consists of

> . . . whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its member . . . By this definition, we should note that culture is not a material phenomenon . . . It does not consist of things, people, behavior or emotions. It is, rather, an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them (Goodenough, 1964, p.36).

The fifth assumption is that the organization of behavior is emergent in the conjoint social interaction of the teacher and the students as they individually exercise their interpretive procedures. The teacher and students mutually monitor and interpret the social environment, including one another's behavior, in an active process of achieving or accomplishing the social organization described and analyzed in this paper (see Garfinkel, 1967, for discussion of the social order as members' accomplishment).

Viewing the classroom social order during the segment as an interactional accomplishment by the teacher and students focuses attention on both as active agents in the establishment and maintenance of the classroom order. In adopting this perspective, this study is distinguishable from such efforts as Flanders (1970), those reviewed in Dunkin and Biddle (1974), Grant and Hennings (1971), and Good and Brophy (1973), which focus primarily on the teacher as the active agent in the classroom social order. This view is also distinguishable from the view of the classroom social organization as consisting of sets or relationships and attendant rights, obligations, and duties ascribed to teachers and students by the conventions of the institution (cf. Firth, 1954; Goodenough, 1965). Studies such as Waller (1932), Grambs (1968), Jackson (1968), and Eddy (1969) focus on the regularities of these limits or boundaries across classrooms in describing the classroom (school) as an institution distinct from other institutions as arenas for social life in the society.

Florio reconciles the institutional order of classrooms with the interactional order of everyday classroom life by suggesting that variability of behavior is allowed by the institutionally conventionalized social arrangements: ". . . a teacher can behave in a variety of ways -- with students, parents, or cohorts -- and still be a teacher" (Florio, 1976, p. 39). While the organization of the teacher's and students' behavior is bounded by institutional conventions for appropriate or expected behavior, these conventions for classroom social arrangements are mediated by Koyukon Athabaskan knowledge of appropriate social behavior. The Koyukon Athabaskan teacher and students "get ready" for an instructional activity in a classroom setting in ways consistent with Koyukon organization of social behavior in face-to-face interaction.

The Exercise of Authority: Indian vs. non-Indian Styles

Philips (1972), studying non-Indian teachers in Oregon, reported incongruity between the culturally organized ways authority is exercised in the classroom and in the Warm Springs Indian community. Erickson and Mohatt (1976) considered how a teacher could exercise authority in ways consistent with those of the Indian community. "We would expect more covert ways of exercising social control: less attention directed to individual children in the presence of other children as an 'audience,' less overt monitoring of the classroom behavior of individual children through verbal and non-verbal sanctions by the teacher" (p. 9). In analyzing their classroom data, they found consistency between the theoretically generated form for the Indian exercise of classroom authority and the ways the Odawa Indian teacher actually exercised authority in her classroom. As the year progressed, they also found signs of "adaptive drift" by the non-Indian teacher (who was characterized as concerned, possessing good intuition and who also benefited from helpful advice from his Indian principal) toward the "Indian general form" in his exercise of classroom authority.

The study presented in this paper, following Philips (1972) and Erickson and Mohatt (1976), pays particular attention to the ways the Athabaskan teacher exercises her authority in the classroom. This aspect of the inquiry explores the interactional devices manifested by the teacher as she exercises her classroom authority and the degree of voluntariness and self-determination in participation allowed the students by the teacher.

One of the ways teachers on the Warm Springs Reservation exercised their authority in ways discontinuous with those of the Indian community is in the use, as a pedagogical device, of placing students in the position of committing "public mistakes." Erickson and Mohatt (1976) investigated "to what extent the teacher, by questioning, commanding, praising, smiling, looking pointedly and other means of directing attention to a specific child, focuses on what that child is doing in the presence of an 'audience' of other children" (p. 4). Their findings indicate that the Indian teacher put students in the public "spotlight" much less than did the non-Indian teacher; additionally the non-Indian teacher seemed to make decreasing use of the "spotlight effect" as the year progressed. The inquiry here combines the insights of Philips (1972) and Erickson and Mohatt (1976) in examining the degree to which the social organization of the lesson is organized around the teacher's placing students "in the spotlight" and the management of "public mistakes" by the teacher and the students.

Analysis of the Lesson

In the lesson analyzed in this paper, initiation-reply exchanges occur throughout the sequence. The initiating may be done by the teacher as in this example:

(21) T: "(S_7's name), where's your book like this?"
S_7: (shrugs)

The initiating may also be done by students.

(30) S_5: "Are we here, (teacher's name)?"
T: "Yeah."

These initiation-response exchanges are organized in two forms, somewhat analogous to Philips' (1972) notion of participant structures. In the first form, the teacher interacts with students individually on a one-at-a-time basis. For example:

(33) T: "You're finished, (S_5's name)?"
S_5: (nods)

This form of teacher-student interaction occurs in two domains of performance, constituted by vertically co-occurring social phenomena: (1) private performance, and (2) public performance. Teacher-student interactions in private performance typically are signified by (1) both teacher and student lowering their voices; (2) decreases in the interpersonal distance between the teacher and the student; and (3) postural orientation by the teacher that more clearly "focuses" on the individual student to the exclusion of others. Other members of the class not involved in the private performance go about their business, manifesting behavior that indicates not only that they are not involved in the interaction, but also that they are not paying attention to the private performance (even though the private performance may be audible and visually accessible to them).

Lines 30-35 of the video-taped transcript provide an illustration of teacher-student interactions in private performance. The teacher is standing at the head of Table B (Fig. 1). The teacher, S_5 and S_7 are speaking in lower voices than they use in public performance.

(30) S_5: "Are we here, (teacher's name)?"

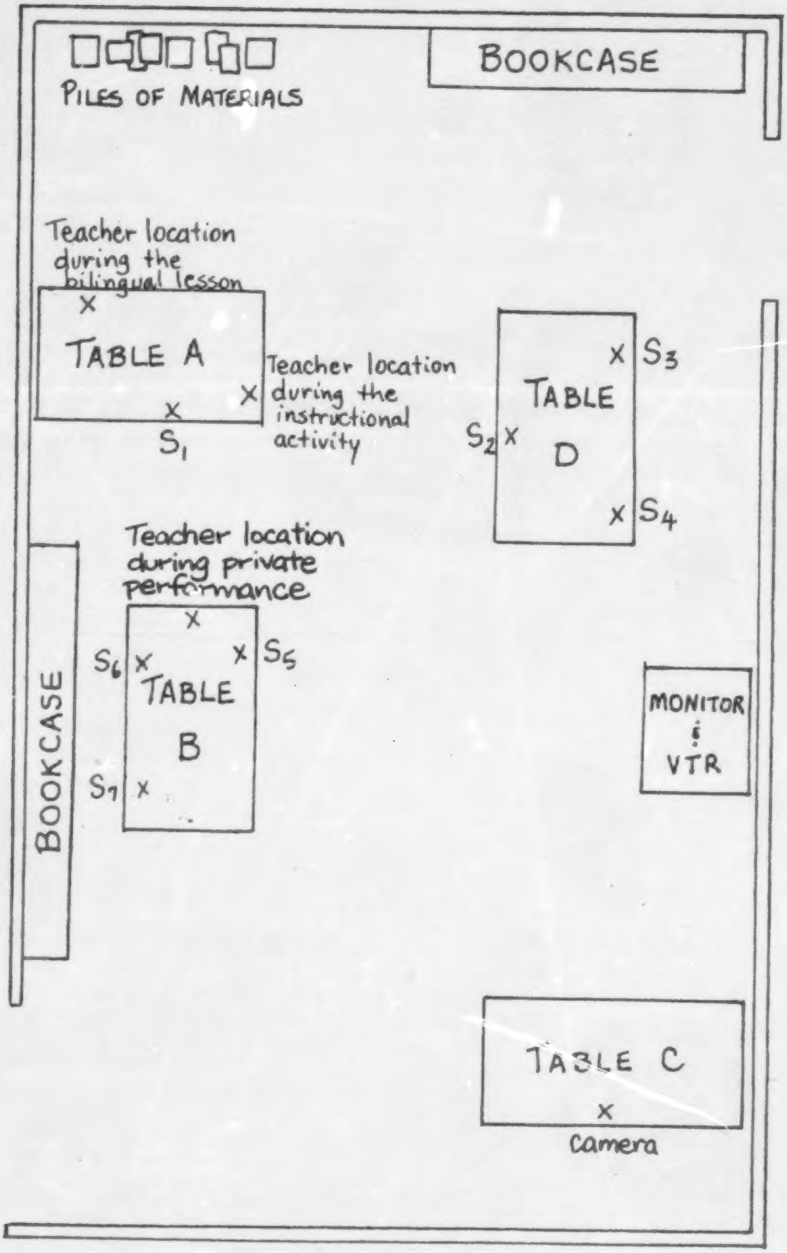
PILES OF MATERIALS
BOOKCASE
Teacher location during the bilingual lesson
X
TABLE A
X
Teacher location during the instructional activity
X
S1
X S3
TABLE D
S2 X
X S4
Teacher location during private performance
X
S6 X
X S5
TABLE B
S7 X
BOOKCASE
MONITOR & VTR
TABLE C
X
Camera

FIGURE 1. Teacher and student locations during the lesson.

The teacher orients her upper trunk, head and gaze to S_5. S_6 and S_7 briefly glance at the teacher and S_5, then return to looking at their books.

T: "Yeah."

S_7: "Here, (teacher's name)."

The teacher shifts her feet, orients her upper trunk, head and gaze to S_7. S_5 and S_6 glance briefly at the teacher and return to their books.

T: "Yeah, on this side."

Teacher points. S_5 and S_6 glance briefly at S_7's book, then return to their own.

S_7: "This one?"

Teacher remains oriented to S_7. S_5 and S_6 continue looking at their books.

T: "Yeah."

Teacher-student interactions in public performance typically are signified by both teacher and student speaking louder, with greater interpersonal distance between the participants, and a more inclusive postural focus by the teacher. In public performances, it is not necessary for other members of the class to "actively disattend" to the interaction. An example of the teacher interacting with an individual student on a one-at-a-time basis in public performance occurs in lines 83-84 of the transcript. The teacher is sitting on the end of Table A (Fig. 1); S_5 is in his seat. The teacher's voice is noticeably louder than it was in the example cited above of private performance.

(83) T: "You're finished, (S_5's name)?"

S_5: (nods affirmatively).

The second form of teacher-student interaction in the lesson is the teacher interacting with the class as a whole group:

(47) T: "What page are we on?"

S_2: "Ah--"

Many: "40."

By definition this form occurs only in public performance.

The teacher interacting with individual students on a one-at-a-time basis in private performance, the teacher interacting with individual students on a one-at-a-time basis in public performance, and the teacher interacting with the class as a whole group comprise three social contexts for interaction in the lesson. These three contexts are organized together in a more superordinate level of social organization.

Initially, the video-tape behavior record of the lesson was viewed with the sound off. In attending to nonverbal channels of behavior, the reading lesson seems to be divided into three segments (Figure 2). In the first, the students move their chairs from around Table B to the locations shown in Figure 1. The teacher moves around the room, handing out the materials for the lesson. In the second segment, the teacher remains seated on the end of Table A. During the third segment, the teacher again moves around the room interacting with the students.

Erickson (1975) and Scheflen (1973) demonstrate that locational and postural shifts can be reliable indicators of junctures between behavioral segments. The nonverbal behavioral clues that indicate the junctures of these three segments are: (1) the students' relocating and the teacher's beginning to circulate around the room; (2) the teacher's seating herself on the end of Table A and remaining there throughout the second segment; (3) the teacher's getting up and again circulating around the room; and (4) the students' handing in their books.

Examination of the verbal behavior of the teacher and students during the entire sequence provides further indication that the lesson can be divided into three distinct social units. In the first segment, the teacher addresses 87.5 percent of her utterances to individual students and, on these occasions, interacts with students in private performance. In the second segment only 25.9 percent of her utterances are directed to individual students in private performance. Another 24.1 percent of her utterances address individual students on a one-at-a-time basis, but in public performance. Fifty percent of her utterances are addressed to the class as a whole group. In the third segment, 89.9 percent of the teacher's utterances are addressed to individual students in private performance. Her only public utterance in this segment, "Ok, hand in your books," closes the lesson. These data are summarized in Table 1.

Further indication that segment 1 and segment 2 are distinct contexts for social interaction is provided by the patterns of "who initiates" the exchanges. In the first segment, the teacher initiates only 28.6 percent of the exchanges, while in the second segment, she initiates 85 percent of the exchanges. The third segment does not differ from the second along the "who initiates" dimension: the teacher initiates 85.7 percent of the exchanges. In the second segment, however, 76 percent of the initiations are in public performance, compared with 14.3 percent in the third segment. These data are summarized in Table 2.

The data summarized in Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate coherence of particular patterns in the teacher's and the students' verbal behavior within the junctures suggested by their non-verbal behavior. Tables 1 and 2 also show the distinctiveness of the patterns of verbal behavior in each segment within the lesson.

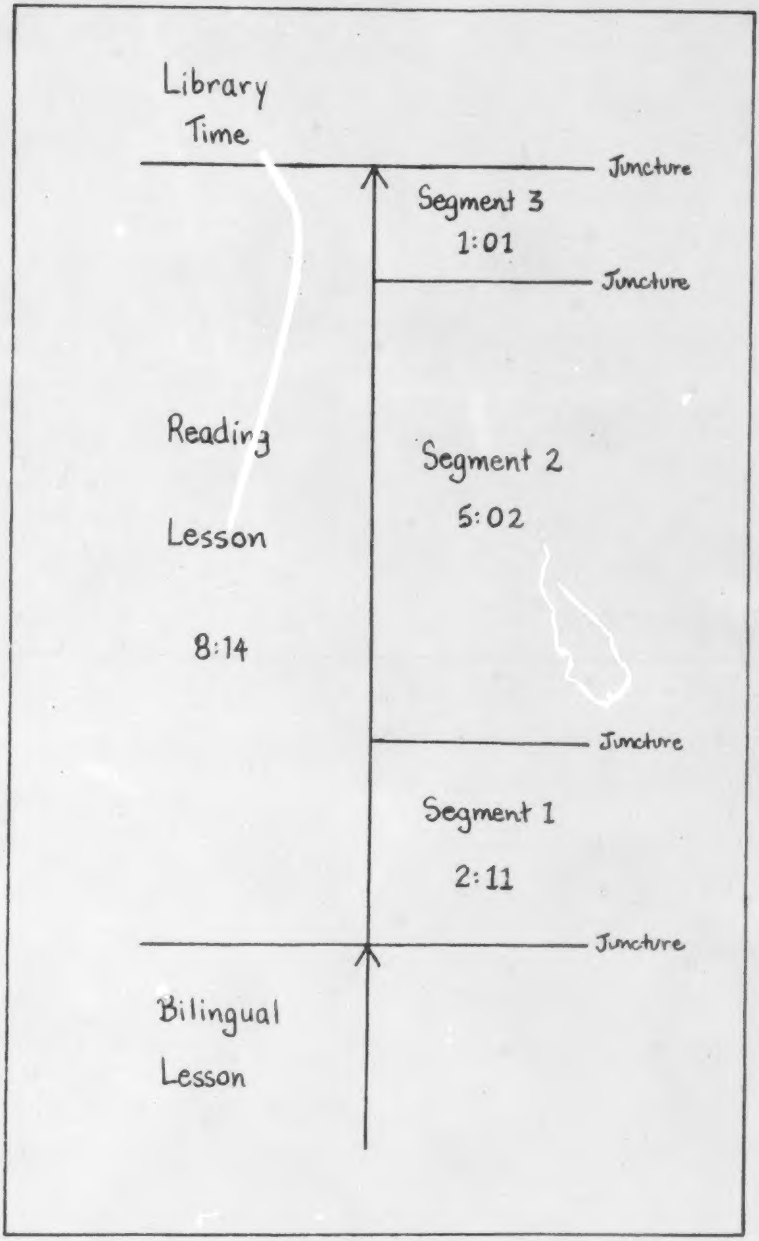
Library Time
Juncture
Segment 3
1:01
Juncture
Reading Lesson 8:14
Segment 2
5:02
Juncture
Segment 1
2:11
Juncture
Bilingual Lesson

FIGURE 2. Segments in the lesson.

TABLE 1

Focus of Teacher Utterances in Public and Private Peformance

	Public Performance					Private Performance
	Whole Class	Small Group	Individual Student	Other	Subtotal (Public)	Individual Student
Segment 1	0	0	0	1	1	7
Segment 2	27	0	13	0	40	14
Segment 3	1	0	0	0	1	8
Total	28	0	13	1	42	29

	Total Utterances	% Total Utterances Public	% Total Utterances Private
Segment 1	8	12.5	87.5
Segment 2	54	24.1	25.9
Segment 3	9	11.1	89.9
Total	71		

TABLE 2

Teacher and Students as Initiators in Verbal Exchanges in Public and Private Contexts

	Public			Private				
	Teacher Initiates Exchange	Student Initiates Exchange	% Public Initiation	Teacher Initiates Exchange	Student Initiates Exchange	% Private Initiation	% Teacher Initiates	% Student Initiates
Segment 1	0	0	0	2	5	100.0	28.6	71.4
Segment 2	30	8	76.0	12	0	24.0	84.0	16.0
Segment 3	1	1	14.3	5	1	85.7	85.7	14.3

Figure 2 provides schematic orientation to the structural and temporal relationships of the segments in the lesson.

The teacher and the students, however, do not generate this observable interactional order for its own sake. Nadel (1957, p.158) points out that social organizations "have jobs to do." At the level of focusing on the social organization of the lesson as a classroom event, Nadel's observation is relevant. Classroom lessons are organized around topically oriented tasks and activities. The particular task or activity is set by the teacher and constitutes a major element in the "teacher's agenda" for the lesson (Mehan, et al., 1976). Another major element of the "teacher's agenda" for a lesson includes establishing the broad structural configuration of the social organization of the lesson in ways that contribute to the "working through" of the task or activity by the students in the allotted time. It is the teacher who establishes whether the class will "work through" the task or activity as a whole group, in small groups, or as individual students. A third major element of the teacher's agenda for a lesson is that the students "work through" the task or activity in orderly ways -- ways that do not disrupt the accomplishment of the task or otherwise irritate the teacher. Thus, from a teacher's perspective, at the level of the lesson as a classroom event, the "job" of the social organization of the lesson is to facilitate the "working through" of the task or activity by the students in orderly ways within the allotted time.

In this lesson, the task the students work through is a "reading readiness" exercise from a page in a workbook. The broad structural configuration of the social organization of the lesson is that the students work through this exercise as a whole group under the direction of the teacher. The task and the mode for its working through were decided on by the teacher before the beginning of the lesson (personal communication). That this lesson plan was accomplished by the students and the teacher in an orderly way is observable in the behavior record of the lesson. The social order evident in the lesson, however, is not the product of the students following an explicit script written by the teacher. The evident order is "assembled" in the interaction between the teacher and the students during the course of the lesson.

Social Organization and Control in Segment I

During segment I, the teacher and the students "get ready" for the reading readiness exercise. As they get ready, they conjointly assemble the structural configuration for working through the readiness exercise as a whole group. We now examine aspects of the interactional order evident in segment I for the purposes of gaining insight into its accomplishment by the Koyukon teacher and the students.

Segment 1 occurs between the close of the bilingual lesson and the beginning of the working through of the reading readiness exercise by the class. During the bilingual lesson, the students and the bilingual teacher are clustered around Table B (see Figure 3). The instructional activities completed during the lesson are (1) playing a game with flash cards in which the teacher displays a card and individual students take turns responding to the picture on the card; (2) singing, in unison, a song about birds in the Koyukon language; and (3) singing, in unison, "Good Morning Teacher" in Koyukon and English.

The structural configuration of the social organization of the bilingual lesson is that of a "whole group activity." During each of the instructional activities, members' involvement and attention are directed toward participation in the efforts of the group as a whole to accomplish the task. Students participate verbally in the bilingual lesson as individuals (the flash card game) and as a group in unison (singing the songs). The individual student turns during the game are embedded in the interactional organization of "playing the game" by the class as a group. This is demonstrated by the following:

1. The allocation of turns among members of the group provides for participation by the students in ways that make for an orderly progression of the game, rather than simply the orderly completion of the turn
2. Students not involved in taking a turn display behavior making it evident they are attending to the turns of others and are thus still part of the group playing the game
3. The instructional activity is completed when the game ends, rather than when a turn is completed.

The working through of the reading readiness exercise by the class, the episode which follows segment 1 in the behavior record, also is structured as a whole group activity. Students participate verbally both in individual public performance and in unison as a group. Individual student verbal participation is embedded in the social organization of the instructional activity as a whole group activity. This is indicated in the following ways:

1. Individual student verbal participation is keyed to the rate the class as a group works through the exercise. It is inappropriate for students to attend verbally, in public performance, to parts of the exercise ahead of or behind those being focused on by the group

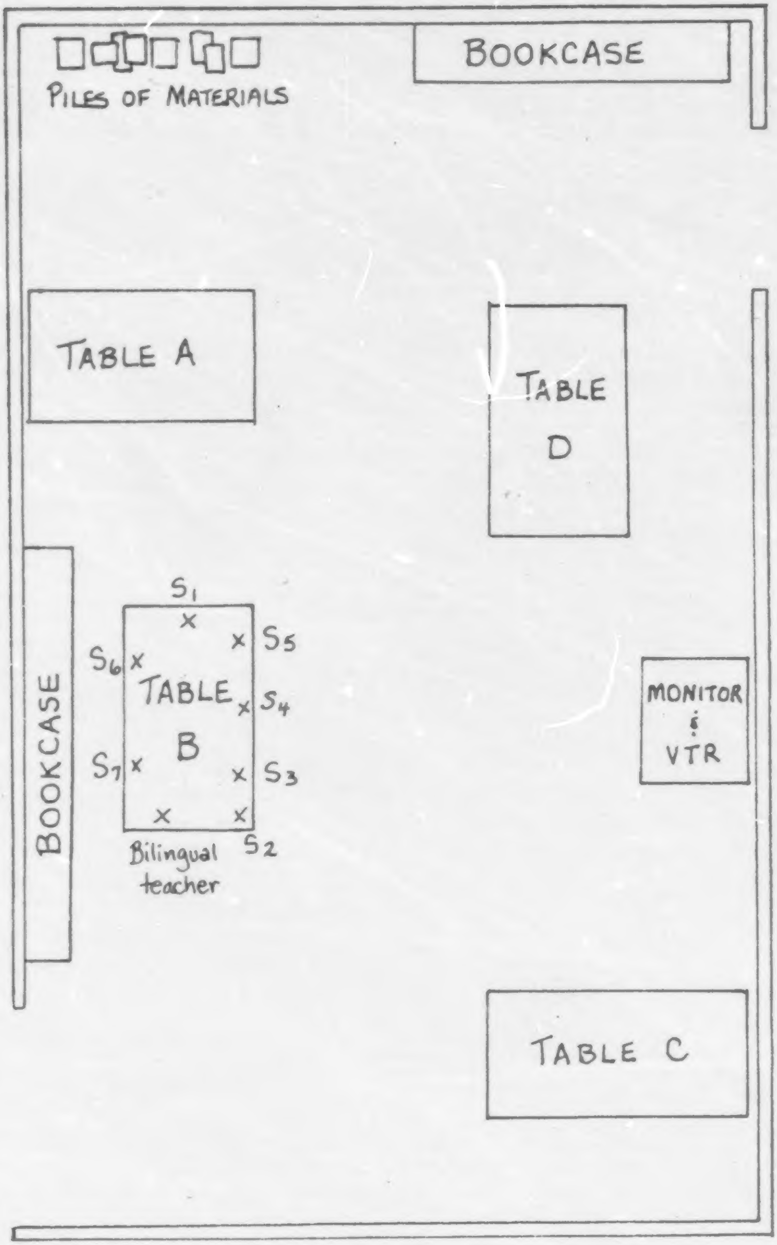
BOOKCASE
PILES OF MATERIALS
TABLE A
TABLE D
S1
S5
S6
TABLE B
S4
S7
S3
S2
BOOKCASE
Bilingual teacher
MONITOR & VTR
TABLE C

FIGURE 3. Teacher and student locations during the bilingual lesson.

2. The students not "doing" an individual public performance during the working through of the exercise display behavior that indicates they are "paying attention" to the person who has the floor
3. The completion of an individual verbal "turn" in public performance does not complete the instructional activity or absolve the participant from manifesting behavioral signs of on-going involvement in the groups' efforts. The instructional activity is completed when the group has worked through the exercise to the teacher's satisfaction.

Segment I, in occurring between the bilingual lesson and the reading readiness exercise, is not only temporally intermediate between them, but it is structurally intermediate as well. It is the occasion for the restructuring of the class for the reading readiness exercise as a whole group activity after the dissolution of the whole group structure of the bilingual lesson.

The social organizational structure of the bilingual lesson begins to dissolve toward the end of the last instructional activity in the lesson, the singing in unison of "Good Morning Teacher," when the bilingual teacher begins putting materials from directly in front of her on Table B into a cloth bag. After she begins doing this, but before the song is completed, S_5 slides her chair away from Table B.

With the ending of the song, the interactional organization of the bilingual lesson more evidently dissolves. S_2 and S_3 slide their chairs back from Table B and posturally orient themselves to each other. S_5 stands on his chair and fidgets. As the bilingual teacher says, "OK" (line 1), S_1 slides back his chair and stands up; S_6 moves his chair back, stretches, and looks at the books in the bookcase along the wall behind him. As S_7 asks the bilingual teacher, "We'll play that cards tomorrow?" (line 2), S_4 slides her chair back from Table B, stands up and fidgets. S_5 stands and stretches as the bilingual teacher responds to the question (lines 5-6).

Coincident with line 7 of the transcript, S_1 and S_3 begin moving their chairs to the locations indicated in Figure I. S_4 begins relocating after commenting, "Oh, boy" (line 7), on the bilingual teacher's response to S_7's question. S_3 also comments on this response from halfway across the room (line 8). S_2 stands and begins moving his chair after notifying the class that "Time's up" (line 9). While the students continue relocating, the bilingual teacher leaves the room.

The dissolution of the organizational structure of the bilingual lesson by the teacher and the students partially accomplishes the *transition* between the bilingual lesson and the readiness exercise. The general structure of interaction during the bilingual lesson and the working through of the reading readiness exercise is organized around the accomplishment of instructional activities. The general structure of interactions during the transition accomplished in segment I is organized around *getting ready* for an instructional activity.

The video-tape behavior record shows the teacher and the students "getting ready" for the reading exercise by completing the following tasks:

1. The students relocate from their positions during the bilingual lesson to the positions indicated in Figure I
2. The workbooks are distributed to the students by the teacher
3. The students find the page in the workbook containing the readiness exercise.

The ways the students and the teacher mutually go about completing these tasks also establish the social organizational framework for working through the reading readiness exercise as a whole group activity.

As S_1, S_2, S_3, and S_4 are moving their chairs after the close of the bilingual lesson, the certificated teacher clears her desk and gathers up the workbooks to be passed out. When the students begin to arrive at their destinations, the teacher stands, goes to Table D, and starts to lay a workbook at S_3's position (see Figure 4). S_3 and S_4 are involved in a "traffic jam" at the lower end of Table D and are not yet in place. S_2 has reached his destination, but he is not yet sitting down. The teacher puts S_3's workbook back in the pile she is carrying, turns, and goes to look out the window between the bookcase and the piles of materials shown at the top of Figure 4. She remains looking out the window until S_2, S_3, and S_4 are seated in position.

As they settle in, she turns from the window, moves to Table D, and hands S_2 and S_4 their workbooks. While this is happening, S_3 begins to dig in her desk. The teacher does not hand S_3 her workbook, but goes to Table A and hands S_1 his. She then moves back toward Table D, but pauses about halfway there. S_3 is still looking in her desk. The teacher turns, goes to Table B, and gives S_5 and S_6 their workbooks.

S_7's workbook is missing from the stack being passed out by the teacher. It is not until this point in the segment that the teacher speaks:

(21) T: "(S_7's name), where's your book like
this?"
S_7: (shrugs)

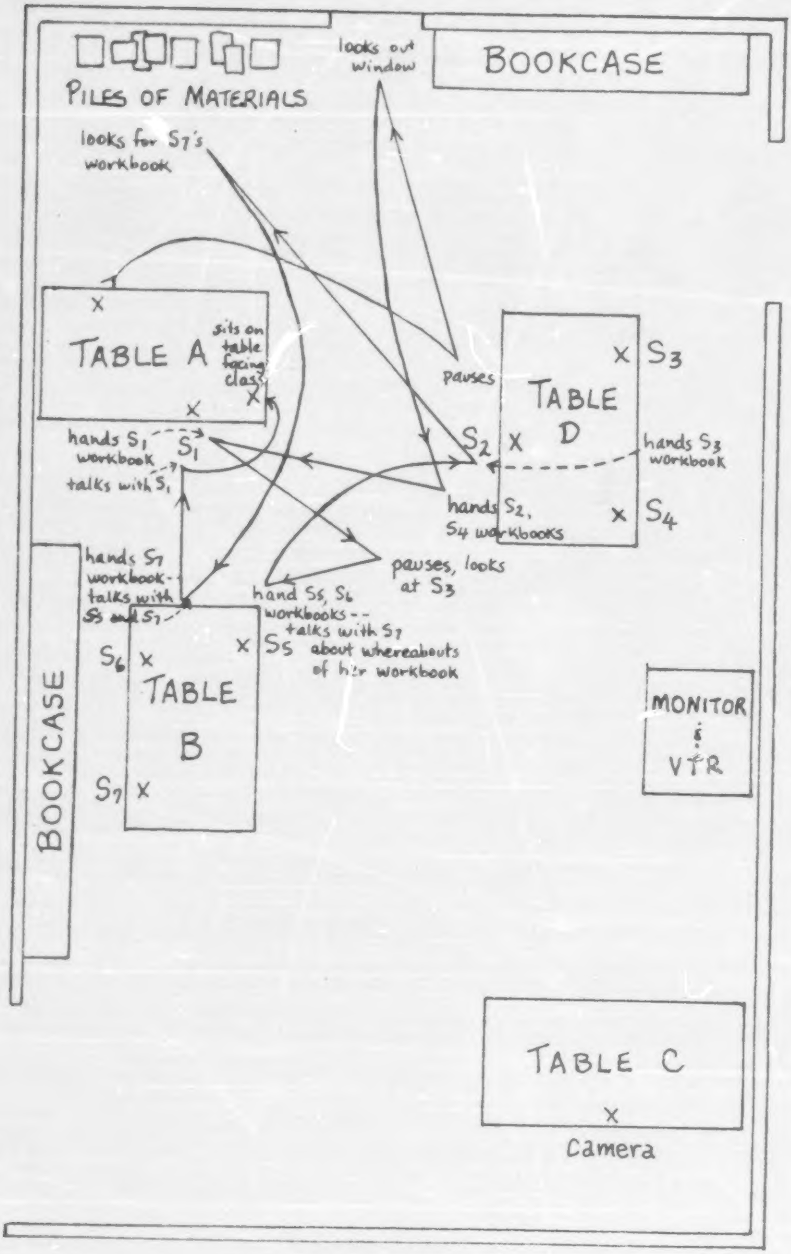
PILES OF MATERIALS
looks out window
BOOKCASE
looks for S7's workbook
TABLE A
sits on table facing class
pauses
TABLE D
S3
S2
hands S3 workbook
S4
hands S1 workbook
S1
talks with S1
hands S2, S4 workbooks
pauses, looks at S3
hands S7 workbook - talks with S5 and S7
hand S5, S6 workbooks -- talks with S7 about whereabouts of her workbook
S6
S5
TABLE B
S7
BOOKCASE
MONITOR & VTR
TABLE C
Camera

FIGURE 4. Teacher movements around the room during segment 1.

T: "Look in your desk."
(25) S_7: "Do you remember Miss _____ took it."
(27) T: "That was (S_3's name)'s."

The teacher then turns, goes to Table D and hands S_3 her workbook. Moving from Table D to the piles of materials indicated in the upper left of Figure 3, she looks for S_7's workbook. On finding it, she exclaims, "Oh, here it is!" (line 29) and returns to Table B and hands S_7 her workbook.

S_5 asks, "Are we here, (teacher's name)?" (line 30). The teacher responds, "Yeah" (line 31). S_7, who by this time has opened her workbook, points to the proper page and asks, "Here, (teacher's name)?" (line 33). The teacher, leaning over and pointing at the correct page in S_7's book, replies, "Yeah, on this side" (line 34). S_7, seemingly still not sure of herself, again points to the page and asks, "This one?" (line 34). The teacher responds, "Yeah" (line 35).

Turning from Table B, the teacher moves to Table A. As she does so, S_1 turns around with a puzzled look on his face. The teacher, arriving at S_1's location, points to the correct page in the workbook lying open in front of S_1 and comments, "Right there" (line 40).

She then moves to the end of Table A and sits on top of it, facing the class. By the time the teacher is seated, all the students have their workbooks open to the proper page. All the students, with the exception of S_2, are also either looking up at the teacher or looking at their books, ready to begin the exercise as a whole group. The structural transition between the bilingual lesson and the readiness exercise has been completed.

The most evident aspect of the teacher's behavior during the accomplishment of the transition is her movement around the room (see Figure 4). One of the functions of this movement is the exercise of control over the behavior of the students (Erickson and Mohatt, 1976). This exercising of control through "pounding the classroom beat" is more the product of the teacher synchronizing her movement around the room with the students' readiness to receive the workbooks and to begin focusing on the material than it is deterrence effected by the immediate presence of the "fuzz." The teacher does not begin moving around the room when the students begin relocating; she also remains seated when the bilingual teacher leaves the room. She allows the students to proceed to their new locations without exercising "teacher stares" or other overt nonverbal control devices. The teacher also abstains from exerting verbal control.

It is not until the students have essentially arrived at their destinations that the teacher stands up and begins moving around the classroom. When she arrives at Table D, S_2 is not yet sitting down; S_3 and S_4 are still positioning their chairs and also are not seated. Rather than invoking verbal or nonverbal sanctions or prompts to "hurry them up," the teacher moves to the window and looks out until S_2, S_3, and S_4 are ready to begin focusing on the material.

As she hands S_2 and S_4 their books, S_3 begins looking in her desk. She is not yet ready. Once again, the teacher neither invokes sanctions nor overtly directs S_3's attention to the workbook. She proceeds to Table A and hands S_1 his workbook. Leaving Table A, the teacher pauses and checks on S_3. She is still not ready, so the teacher moves without comment to Table B. When she leaves Table B, on the way to look for S_7's workbook, the teacher again checks on S_3. S_3 is no longer looking for something in her desk and is now ready. The teacher then hands S_3 her workbook.

Examination of the teacher's verbal behavior during segment I furthers the impression that the teacher is acting in concert with the students, rather than overtly controlling them. Seven of the eight teacher utterances in the segment are directed to individuals and occur in private performance. The teacher and student are at an intimate distance from each other and the rest of the students do not serve as an audience to the interaction. The teacher's verbal behavior is thus coupled to her movement around the room; she talks with the students who are in closest proximity.

Just as she does in her movements around the room, the teacher seems to be synchronizing her verbal behavior with the "rhythms" of the class. The interactional device she employs is that of allowing students to be the primary initiators in successful verbal exchanges. She initiates only two of the seven successful verbal exchanges in which she is involved during segment I. Both of these instances concern the whereabouts of S_7's workbook and are tangential to the accomplishment of the transition.

This portrayal of the Koyukon teacher's exercise of her classroom authority is consistent with Erickson and Mohatt's description of the exercise of authority by the Indian teacher in a classroom on the Canadian reserve.

> Social control is distributed in Classroom I as a shared quantity -- leadership by teacher and by students interpenetrates rather than being divided into separate compartments. The teacher clearly has "control" of the students, but achieves this partly by paying much attention to the rhythms of student activity, and judging when students are ready for

> things to change (Erickson and Mohatt, 1976, p. 15).

The absence of the exercise of overt control by the teacher over the behavior of the students, and the distribution of social control as a "shared quantity" during the segment, directs attention to the accomplishment of the transition as a mutual achievement by the teacher and the students.

The establishment of the whole group structure which completes the transition is a mutual assembly by the teacher and the students as they engage in "interactional work" during segment I. "Interactional work" is used here to mean the ways the teacher and the students, in negotiating the definition of the situation, "inform" each other of "what is going on." This interactional work is "framed" by the classroom routines established over the course of the year. The students know that at the end of the bilingual lesson, S_1, S_2, S_3, and S_4 will move their chairs to the locations shown in figure 1, as they have been doing for nearly the entire school year. The students also know that Reading typically follows the Bilingual class in the daily schedule.

One aspect of the "interactional work" going on between the teacher and the students is the confirmation that students are to proceed according to "normal form." The teacher, by not indicating that the students are to do otherwise, "informs" the students that S_1, S_2, S_3, and S_4 are to move their chairs back to their seats as they do each day. The students thus proceed according to a "business as usual" pattern without requiring direction from the teacher on who is to move, where, or how.

For the students, there is some ambiguity inherent in the normal form of the social organizational structure to be used on any given day to accomplish Reading. Sometimes Reading is done by students on an individual basis, sometimes it is done in small groups, and sometimes it is done by the class as a whole group (teacher personal communication). There is ambiguity, too, for the students in the normal form of the instructional activity for Reading on a particular day: it may be working in a workbook, playing games, listening to a story, or doing seatwork made up by the teacher.

A second aspect of the interactional work going on in the accomplishment of the transition is the reduction of ambiguity when the normal forms contain an array of options. The ambiguity inherent in the normal form of the instructional activity for Reading is reduced when the teacher informs the students of the coming instructional activity by passing out the workbooks. Evidence of the workbooks also indicates that Reading comes next, confirming that the daily schedule is proceeding as it typically does.

The students still do not know which page in the workbook they will be working on. Typically, when the students have worked in this particular workbook, they have taken each page in sequence. Occasionally, they work on pages out of sequence. All the students open their workbooks to page 40, the page following the last page worked on. S_1, S_5, and S_7 are still uncertain that page 40 is the correct page. S_5 and S_7, individually, in private performance, verbally elicit confirmation from the teacher. S_1 elicits confirmation from the teacher by turning and looking at her as she leaves Table B and begins heading in his direction. The teacher, without a word from S_1, continues to his seat and confirms he has the correct page.

There is still ambiguity as to whether Reading will be conducted as individual work, small group work, or work done by the class as a whole group. The first bit of information the students process to reduce this ambiguity is that, generally, pages in the particular workbook being handed out by the teacher are worked through as a whole group. Secondly, if the work is to be done on an individual basis, the teacher typically indicates this in private performance as she hands out material. If the instructional activity is to be completed as a small group, the teacher typically begins convening these groups as she moves around the room. The fact that she neither establishes that the work be done on an individual basis, nor indicates the formation of small groups, informs the students that Reading will be conducted as a whole group activity.

The accomplishment of the transition by the class without explicit directions or the exercise of overt control by the teacher suggests a high degree of congruence between the assumptions and knowledge held by the teacher and the students about the appropriate conduct of everyday social life in classrooms. For a group of students and a teacher to be able to leave many things unstated as they accomplish a classroom transition which includes a change in teacher, the relocation of more than half the class, the distribution of material, and the orientation of the students to that material, requires that the teacher and students continually arrive at mutually consistent interpretations of what is going on and share mutually consistent understandings and expectations for how to proceed.

Not only are many things left unstated in accomplishing the transition, but the interactional work between the teacher and the students proceeds smoothly. Segment I takes some 131 seconds from juncture to juncture. Thirty-seven seconds of this time were taken up in locating S_7's workbook, leaving about 94 seconds for the completion of the transition. That a group of kindergarten students and a teacher complete the tasks they do and get ready for Reading in such a short time is an impressive indicator in itself of the smoothness of the interactional work going on between the teacher and the students.

A second indicator of interactional smoothness in segment I is the relative infrequency of "repair work, " the channeling or correction of divergent student behavior by the teacher. Equally important is that the repair work is done smoothly by the teacher without issuing explicit directions or otherwise overtly exercising control over the students. The repair work done by the teacher during segment I is accomplished by not replying to particular verbal initiations by students.

Two instances of repair work by the teacher involve the non-Indian student in the class, S_2. While the teacher is involved in verbal exchanges in private performance with S_7 (concerning the whereabouts of S_7's workbook; lines 21-27), S_2 turns in his seat, looks directly at the teacher and says, in a loud voice, "OK, ah, we're on page 40" (line 24).

The teacher does not respond or acknowledge S_2's contribution. S_2 fidgets a bit and, looking directly at the teacher, calls out, "We're on page 40." Again, the teacher does not acknowledge S_2. S_2 fidgets a bit more and continues looking at the teacher, seemingly waiting for acknowledgement. He then turns back in his seat and looks at his workbook. By not responding to S_2, the teacher channels his behavior away from calling out and interrupting an ongoing exchange in private performance without overt direction or control.

The process of getting ready is accomplished without the exercise of overt control over the behavior of the students by the teacher with one exception. As the teacher begins to sit on the end of Table A facing the class, all the students, with the exception of S_2, are quiet and are either looking at page 40 or up at the teacher. S_2 continues to talk to S_4 (who is looking up at the teacher, not attending to S_2). The teacher marks the juncture between segment I and segment 2 by asking, "OK, what page are we on?" (line 42). The students, with the exception of S_2, respond in chorus, "Forty" (line 44). S_2 continues talking, addressing his talk to S_4, who is attending to the teacher (lines 41 and 45). The teacher orients towards S_2 and in a noticeably louder voice says, "What page are we on?" (line 47). S_2 turns toward the teacher, stops talking toward S_4, and says, "Ah" (line 48). The rest of the class responds in chorus, "Forty" (line 49). S_2 then responds, "Forty" (line 50), having been brought into the fold.

The teacher, in orienting her posture and gaze to S_2, raising her voice and asking the question again, escalates to a more overt exercise of her control in informing S_2 of what is going on. It is worth noting that this escalation to a more overt form of control by the teacher is yet somewhat oblique. The teacher does not spotlight S_2 in verbal rebuke or sanction; rather she informs him by orienting to him, raising her voice and repeating to the class as a whole a question that has already been answered.

The Koyukon teacher's exercise of her classroom authority is consistent with what might be expected for an Indian teacher, generalizing from Philips (1972). First, the students are allowed a great deal of self-determination in their actions as they "get ready" for Reading. The teacher does not attempt to exercise continual and pervasive control over the students' behavior. Second, the teacher does not "single out" in public performance either divergent student behavior or student uncertainty about what is going on; rather, she uses a variety of channels for communication to inform the students of what is going on.

The Koyukon teacher's exercise of her classroom authority is also consistent with Erickson and Mohatt's (1976) findings and interpretations of the exercise of authority by the Indian teacher on the Northern Ontario Reserve. First, the Koyukon teacher typically exercises her authority in covert ways during the segment. Social control is distributed as a *shared quantity* as the teacher and the students "get ready" for Reading. Second, there is a high degree of interactional "smoothness" in the ways the teacher and the students do their interactional work. Third, the teacher does not put individual students in the "classroom spotlight."

Conclusions

This example suggests that a more comprehensive study of how Athabaskan teachers (who are few in number) and how non-Indian teachers exercise their classroom authority might provide illuminating insights into the workings of Alaskan cross-cultural classrooms. The consistency of the example with the findings and interpretations of Philips (1972) and Erickson and Mohatt (1976) suggests that systematic inquiry into discontinuities between the way social life is conducted in Alaskan Native communities and in Alaskan classrooms may provide useful information for developing and effecting styles of teaching and classroom control more appropriate to Alaskan Native students.

The analysis presented in this paper is a limited example of a Koyukon accomplishment of a classroom social organization. The analysis assumes the point of view that the ways the teacher and the Athasbaskan students conduct themselves during the segment are *culturally* organized. Within the context of this paper, this assumption remains unexamined. Erickson and Mohatt, however, argue that such an assumption can be empirically examined and tested.

> We will argue that a shared sense of pacing between teacher and students (part of their mutually congruent interactional competence -- their shared *culture* as defined by Goodenough) is manifested behaviorally in an interactional smoothness where presence or absence is empirically observable. This observable smoothness, in getting through an event and in getting from one event to the next, can be taken as an indicator of shared expectations and interpretive strategies on the part of the participants in the interactional scene (1976, p. 16).

While this paper has displayed the smoothness in the conduct of the interactional work between the teacher and the students, it does not argue that this smoothness is the product of the "Athabaskaness" of the participants. To be able to do so requires that lack of smoothness in the non-Indian student's interactional work be demonstrated. This is indeed the case in S_2's behavior during the segment. At the end of the bilingual lesson, S_2 does not begin relocating until he announces, "Time's up" (line 9), although the other students are already moving their chairs. S_2 tries to interrupt an ongoing verbal exchange, in private performance, to let the teacher know, in public performance, that he knows the correct page. It can be argued that while a student's seeking the classroom spotlight is inappropriate social behavior in an Indian classroom, it would be considered reasonable behavior for a non-Indian student in a non-Indian classroom. However, interrupting an ongoing teacher-student exchange would probably also be deemed inappropriate in a non-Indian classroom. Finally, S_2 is not "ready" when the instructional activity begins. These demonstrations of interactional incompetence by the non-Indian student are too few and too varied to allow convincing demonstration, but they are suggestive. They may well be the product of differences in the cultural organization of behavior between the non-Indian student and the Indian members of the class.

Elaboration of the analysis to include the entire lesson would also provide an example to contrast with one of Philips' findings in classrooms with non-Indian teachers. The prevailing participant structure during segment 2 of the lesson is the first participant structure described in Philips, i.e., the teacher interacts with all of the students. In Warm Springs classrooms, the Indian students participated infrequently in classroom events organized in this way. In this lesson conducted by an Indian teacher, the Indian students participate freely and frequently. Microethnographic analysis of how this is accomplished by the teacher and the students could provide some illuminating insights into "the silent Indian student" syndrome.

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YUP'IK ESKIMO WOMEN
AND POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

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Introduction

During the 1978-79 school year, I worked in three Alaskan Eskimo villages as a field center coordinator for a community college. My primary responsibility was to assist students in first and second year college courses in a field-based delivery program of postsecondary education. As the school year progressed and I came to know the students and their problems in higher education, the comments of the women suggested a major premise: Eskimo women in these three villages perceived program structure in postsecondary education as a source of conflict with traditional female roles in family and community.

As I obtained further information from the women, I began to relate their conflicts to those perceived by women in education in the mainstream society. I questioned whether sex role relationships in the two societies were alike or different, and, if they were different whether the differences were important in educational program planning. Finally, I questioned whether the conflicts perceived by the women might not have unintended consequences not only for the individuals in the programs but for the communities where they lived.

A brief description of the three villages where I spent the 1978-79 school year will serve, I hope, as an appropriate introduction to a discussion of women in higher education in these villages.

The southwestern portion of the state is occupied by the Central Yup'ik language group (Krauss, 1974). The three villages where I lived are located in this language area, on the coast of the Bering Sea. Modern technology in these villages is minimal. None of the three villages has roads or automobiles, central electrical plants, sewage systems, or running water. Each village has only one telephone, installed in about 1976, and only one village receives television from a nearby urban center. Small airplanes land on mud airstrips, and even these airstrips did not exist five years ago. In recent years, cash income has become important for the purchase of snow machines, gasoline, and home heating oil, but the economy is still primarily subsistence based. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and the preparation of food are the primary occupations of most villagers.

In spite of the isolation, life in the three villages differs considerably now from life in 1915 when the first non-Eskimo established permanent residence in one of the villages (Drebert, 1959). Churches, state and federal government, and the school have been the primary agents of change since 1915. While this is not the place for a complete accounting of the ways in which change has taken place, a brief history of the school may prove helpful in understanding the discussion which follows.

The missionary who settled in one of the villages in 1915 started a day school, but school was conducted sporadically until the establishment of a permanent Bureau of Indian Affairs school in 1924. Because subsistence patterns of the people made travel to spring and fall camps necessary, it was not until the 1940's that people settled permanently near the school. Thus, it was the 1940's before children began to receive any substantial number of years of formal schooling. High schools were established in two of the villages in September, 1977, and the third village had its first high school in September, 1979. In earlier times, one had to leave the village for a high school education, and very few chose to do so. Higher education in the form of field-delivered programs reached these villages in the the mid-70's.

One goal of the schools has been to teach children to speak, read, and write in English. At present the schools conduct bilingual programs where children are taught in Yup'ik for the first three grades with some English as a second language instruction. In the fourth grade and thereafter, all instruction is done in English. To date, the schools have not been very successful in their attemps to alter language patterns. Very few adults speak, read, and write in fluent English, and Yup'ik quite clearly remains the dominant language.

Women in the Villages and Higher Education

The discussion which follows has several limitations. As I have noted, my concern focused on the women students essentially. I have no doubt that male students have problems, too, but they did not volunteer information in the same way the women did. In addition, I was present in these villages as a teacher -- not as an anthropologist -- and my major concern was devoted to being a good teacher. Although some systematic study involved, most of my discussion is based upon informal observation. As a result, my conclusions are tentative. The astute reader will also note my ambivalence as a participant-observer. The two roles -- that of anthropologist/observer and that of educator/participant -- seem to me to involve a number of contradictions. My position as field center coordinator did not allow me to choose one or the other of the roles, and the inherent contradictions are evident in this report. However, I hope my observations will serve to encourage discussion with regard to the types of program design and research which are needed in order to resolve at least some of the difficulties in the present situation. It is also my hope that other educators working in similar programs can benefit from the experience described here.

The major premise was soon affirmed. Eskimo women in the three villages perceived program structure in postsecondary education as a source of conflict with traditional female roles in family and community. The following description of women's roles demonstrates the conflicts the women perceive. The description came from the women themselves.

Women's roles are well defined. A young, unmarried woman is expected to live with her parents and contribute to the family welfare as housekeeper or contribute a high proportion of her cash income (if she is employed). In addition to child rearing, a married woman has important responsibilities in food preparation. In the spring when the men are seal hunting, the women clean and work on the seals. In the summer, when the men go to the canneries, women smoke fish and collect mice food (edible roots which the tundra mice gather and store) and wild spinach from the tundra. In the fall, they pick grass for drying and basket making, they dry tom cod, clean ducks, pick berries, and collect mice food. In the winter, women sew and make parkas, boots, and other clothing. If a woman's husband traps, she prepares skins for sale. In addition, women in each household bake the family supply of bread. Labor-saving devices are few and far between. Laundry is done with wringer washers, and clothes are hung out to dry even in the coldest weather.

The missionaries who entered the region in the early years of the 20th century were very influential. Today, church life is a central feature of life in all three villages. As a result, church activities demand considerable amounts of a woman's time. One student told me that she tried to explain that she needed to study, but it was hard to say "no" when others said they wanted her help. The schedule of activities in one village was as follows:

Monday night	Choir practice
Tuesday night	Women's fellowship
Wednesday night	Prayer meeting
Thursday night	Bible class
Friday night	No activity
Saturday morning	Children's hour
Saturday afternoon	Ladies' aid

Saturday night	Young People's group
Sunday	Three services

If one is a church officer, additional time is spent in planning and organizing. There are other activities such as song fests, rallies, and conferences in which people from several villages participate.

In summary, then, a woman's first responsibility is to her family, and her second responsibility is to the church. As a consequence, problems arise for women seeking secondary and post-seconday education. Many Eskimos -- men and women alike -- have come to believe in the promise of education. People believe that education will lead to jobs, status among non-Natives, and knowledge for its own sake. There are also those who believe that education will help Eskimos to defend themselves against incursions by the dominant society. Eskimo women seek education for all of these reasons.

In prior years when one had to leave the village for a high school education -- and those days are not too far past -- young women were sometimes called back to the village before graduation because help was needed at home. There are women in their early 20's who wanted to finish high school but could not because of family responsibilities. The new small high schools in the villages are a partial solution to that problem -- but they are only a partial solution. Young women are still called upon to abandon high school in order to assume responsibilities at home.

Young women who have graduated from high school are expected to live with their parents in the village until marriage. Parents fear that a young woman who goes away to college will become involved in alcohol abuse or prostitution. One young woman told me that, when she was a junior in high school, she wrote to the University of Hawaii for information. The material arrived at home when the girl was away from the village. Although her parents knew no English, someone else in the village told them the packet meant their daughter was going away to college. The parents returned the materials to the University of Hawaii before the girl ever saw it. Now, the girl says she is "stuck."

Married women have problems, too. Even where classes are offered in the village, husbands may not like their wives leaving the family at night to attend classes. Not all husbands feel this way, however. There are also men who encourage and support their wives in their educational efforts. A married woman's many obligations to family and community may leave her with limited time to devote to school work. One of the most painful moments I experienced occurred when I found that I had to advise an intelligent, motivated, hard-working married woman to withdraw from a course in which she had been making progress because she could not complete the work in the established time. Course offerings in the villages are limited, too. Even if a woman is able to meet her responsibilities to family, community, and the school's time lines, she is likely to find that there are no courses available which will lead to her occupational goal.

The Community College Program Structure

The program offered in the three villages consisted of introductory college courses in mathematics, English, the social sciences, and education. Although the courses were delivered in the villages, they were delivered within a traditional structure. Classes were to meet regularly at a given time in a given place. A set number of reading and writing assignments, in English, were to be completed in a set period of time, and three credits per course were earned upon completion. A letter grading system was used, and students who did not complete courses on schedule were to receive failing grades. Textbooks were the same books which might be used in similar courses in the mainstream society, and the teachers who designed the courses emphasized what they saw as the need to make courses "comparable" to those offered on the University of Alaska campuses in Fairbanks and Anchorage and in other colleges and universities. This program structure was the major source of conflict for the Eskimo women. A program structured around flexible time lines, credits, and assignments might allow women to fulfill their family responsibilities and educational requirements as well.

Very few village students complete the courses for which they register. Community college staff members tend to blame the students or the local culture for this low completion rate using such terms as "unmotivated" and "irresponsible" in describing student behavior. I believe that the staff members' explanation is incorrect. The low completion rate is the result of the application of a program structure which is inappropriate to the culture and needs of the Eskimo students.

Sex Role Relationships and Program Structure

Traditional program structures in higher education are adapted to accommodate the ideal male sex role in the mainstream society. The conflicts perceived by the Eskimo women resulted from the fact that neither male nor female roles among the Yup'iks are the same as sex roles in the mainstream society, and traditional program structures are therefore inappropriate for use among the Eskimos. I believe that a discussion of traditional program structure, followed by an examination of sex role relationships in both societies, will support this contention.

Program Structure. The actual program structure reflects a widespread generalization of school people in Alaska, i.e., that schooling is context-free. If a particular plant design or instructional model works well somewhere in the "lower 48," Alaskan educational planners assume that it will work well in Alaska, too. Unfortunately, this is often not the case. I suggest that schools have at least two contexts -- the context transported to the school by the teachers and administrators in the form of beliefs, and the context of the local culture. In schools of the dominant society, the two contexts tend to coincide. In Alaskan village school programs, they very often do not.

Two of the contextual beliefs which educational planners bring to the villages are beliefs about what is and is not appropriate sex role behavior, and beliefs about what is and is not appropriate structure for educational programs. Berger, Berger, and Kellner (1973) have presented a thesis regarding the "package" of "modern consiousness" which is transmitted to non-technological societies via primary and secondary carriers. According to their theory, education is a secondary but important carrier of the package. I suggest that an important part of the package has to do with sex roles. The mind set of technology and bureaucracy not only determines what is to be done but who is to do it. Mainstream society views of appropriate sex role behavior in schools (including programs in higher education) may well be part of the context of the educator.

The problems confronted by women in education in the mainstream society and in the Eskimo villages can be compared. Damico and Nevill (1975) have described the conflicts perceived by married women in college in San Francisco. The problems of married women students in both societies seem to be quite similar. The major difference between the Eskimo women and the San Francisco college women seems to be that unmarried women in the two societies have different family responsibilities. Unmarried women in the Eskimo villages where I lived have family obligations similar to those of married women. In the mainstream society, unmarried women generally do not have extensive family responsibilities, and they therefore need not confront the same conflicts between family responsibilities and higher education. The traditional middle-class male orientation of the educational structure which creates conflicts for women with family responsibilities in both societies affects all Eskimo women.

Although there have no doubt been changes in recent years, and there are probably exceptions to the rule, the Damico and Nevill study, among others, indicates that higher education is generally not structured to accommodate anyone (male or female) who has extensive family commitments. Alaskan community college educators can be expected to share beliefs with mainstream society educators about what is and is not appropriate structure for a college level program, and those beliefs may include beliefs which effectively limit participation by students with primary responsibilities to the family. I am not suggesting that higher education for the mainstream society should change, although others have argued on behalf of that position (Lee and Gropper, 1974; Frazier and Sadker, 1973). However, a major concern that warrants attention is the effect on Eskimo students when beliefs about appropriate structures for higher education are carried into villages as part of the context of community college personnel.

Sex Role Relationships. An understanding of sex role relationships among the Yup'iks is important when one examines the potential, albeit unintended, consequences of programs of higher education in the three villages. Sex role relationships among the Yup'iks are fundamentally different from sex role relationships in the mainstream society. As a result, traditional program structure can be expected to have different effects on sex relationships in each of the two societies.

Carolyn Matthiasson (1974) has edited a book in which societies are classified as "manipulative," "complementary," and "ascendant" according to the general nature of the relationships between men and women within the societies. While I am aware that Matthiasson's approach has limitations (cf. Lamphere, 1977), I nevertheless believe that it is the best model available for use in considering sex roles in the two societies. In complementary societies, Matthiasson states, ". . . women are valued and considered important members of the community, whereas women in Western societies are commonly forced to achieve their goals by manipulating men" (1977:435). The dominant American society is classified as "manipulative," a society in which men dominate and women are forced to manipulate.

The same book contains a report by Jean Briggs on sex role relationships among Eskimo groups in the Canadian Arctic (1974). Briggs describes those relationships as complementary. Although my observations of Eskimo life have not been as extensive as Briggs', her description of the relationships between Eskimo men and women accurately represents the relationships between men and women in the villages represented here. Although one set of behaviors is considered appropriate for men, and another is considered appropriate for women, each respects the other's contribution. Neither sex sees the other as generally inferior. Members of both sexes recognize that the work of both men and w is required to maintain Eskimo life.

Although a number of anthropologists contend that male dominance is universal (thereby implying that there can be no such thing as truly complementary sex role relationships), my position is that sex role relationships in the three villages are complementary and fundamentally different from relationships in the mainstream society. Anthropologists who have considered the question of sex role relationships have identified control of economic resources and participation in public decision making as important measures of the degree of male dominance in a society (Begler, 1978; Chinas, 1973; Rosaldo, 1974; Lewis, 1977; Elliott, 1977; Lamphere, 1977).

Control of economic resources. In the three villages where I worked, men hunt and fish and women gather, prepare the fish and game, and distribute it after it is prepared. I observed only one exception, and that was when five walruses were taken in one of the villages. The men butchered and distributed the walrus meat. Women, however, butcher seal, clean ducks, dry fish, wash berries, prepare akutaq ("Eskimo ice cream," made of fish, berries, and seal oil), and bake bread. "Seal parties" are held in the spring, and women distribute portions of the seal catch at those parties. In addition, it was more often women than men who gave me ducks, fish, seal, and bread.

Cash income is secondary to subsistence in the three villages. Jobs are few and far between, but any member of a family who can bring in money does so. All income belongs to the family, not to the individual, and it is disbursed in accordance with family decision. These observations with respect to control of resources tend to support the view that sex role relationships among at least some Eskimos are indeed complementary.

Participation in public decisionmaking. The question of public decisionmaking is more difficult. In all three villages, members of the village councils and village corporation boards were men. The council composition initially seemed to indicate that women were barred from public decisionmaking, and their nonparticipation might then be interpreted as an indication of their inferior status relative to men. However, an examination of the historical origins of the council system suggests otherwise. Village councils in the three villages were established as the result of the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. Under the terms of the Act, "tribes" could receive substantial loans from the Federal Government if they organized for their "common welfare" by adopting ". . . an appropriate constitution and bylaws, which (would become) effective when ratified by a majority vote of the adult members of the tribe . . . at a special election authorized and called by the Secretary of the Interior." Section 16 of the Act continues:

> In addition to all powers vested in any Indian tribe or tribal council by existing law, the constitution adopted by said tribe shall also vest in such tribe or its tribal council the following rights and powers: . . . to negotiate with the Federal, State, and local Governments . . ..

The decision-making structure for the village corporations also originated in Federal Law under the terms of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. The present system of public decisionmaking in the villages, then, is not indigenous to the local culture. It was imposed by the Federal Government. In order for groups of Native Americans to be recognized as legitimate by Federal, state, and local governments, they had to establish bureaucracies.

In the thesis proposed by Berger, Berger, and Kellner, bureaucracy is a ". . . key phenomena of modernity" (1973:41). Modernization, they say, ". . . must be regarded as a process by which specific clusters of institutions and contents of consciousness are transmitted . . . Modernization is a process of transmission of packages" (1973:119). Although the Bergers and Kellner do not include the transmission of sex roles in their discussion of packages, sex roles may very well be an important part of the package. When agents of Western society impose burearucratic structures on non-technologically developed societies, they impose what is to be done, how to do it, and, implicitly, who is to do it. When constitutions and bylaws became essential to Eskimo communities, the idea of council and board activities as a male domain may have been transmitted as part of the package.

An all-male composition of village councils does not necessarily imply that men were regarded as being of higher status than women. When decision-making processes are imposed on other cultural groups, the processes change as they are transmitted. Jean Briggs has noted that similar behaviors in different societies should not necessarily be evaluated in the same way:

> . . . one should be careful not to evaluate Eskimo behavior that looks similar to our male-female behavior in terms of Western values. The same behavior in two cultures may be differently rationalized and may form parts of different behavioral complexes, so that it has different meanings in each culture (Briggs, 1974:262).

It should not be assumed that, because elections are held and officers named, the councils necessarily represent hierarchies for decisionmaking similar to city council structures in the dominant society. Harry Wolcott has described the dissatisfaction of one group of Kwakiutl villagers with the council system introduced by the Canadian Government (Wolcott, 1967). The council system in Blackfish Village functioned quite differently from council systems in the dominant society. Eric Madsen has described the role of "visiting" in decisionmaking in one Eskimo village (Madsen, this publication). His paper also suggests that, although elections and councils exist, the actual decision-making process is not the same hierarchical process found in the mainstream society.

Consideration should also be given to the possibility that participation in community decisionmaking may not be highly valued by the Eskimos. Bill Vaudrin provides an example of one way in which the differences in the values of the two societies can be seen:

> Village people have indicated their disdain for Anglo forms and structures in any number of ways, not the least of which is reflected by the Yupik word for village council member, angaayuqaruaq (pretend boss). In some villages, people on the council are legitimately high status individuals in that local context (although almost never are THE leaders on the council, and even less often are they council presidents). But in many situations they are middle status or lower, designated more than anything else because of their willingness to play the role of 'pretend boss' -- to go through the motions of setting up meetings, answering correspondence, filling out papers, and entertaining visiting agency officials (Vaudrin, 1974:79).

Although other villages may have "pretend bosses" as Vaudrin suggests, the council president in the village where I spent the most time was a man who exerted genuine leadership. However, he was not a "boss," pretend or otherwise. I was told that the council was "under the people" -- not "above" the people as might be expected in a hierarchy. The council was expected to act in accordance with the will of the people, and the council members were expected to solicit views and recommendations from all adult male members of the community before a decision affecting the community was made. "Visiting" probably did play an important part in the process of soliciting views and gaining consensus in these villages.

My conclusion regarding public decisionmaking in the three villages is that the lack of female membership on the village councils and boards probably did not reflect presence or absence of male dominance in the community. Women voted, attended council meetings and corporation shareholders meetings, participated in discussions at those meetings, and thereby participated in public decisionmaking. I suggest that when the council form of decisionmaking was integrated into the local culture under the influence of the Federal Government, participation as a council or board member became an appropriate part of the male sex role because it was part of the male sex role in the society from which the structure was adopted, but neither status, prestige, income, nor power accrued to men as a class as a result. I suggest that membership on councils and boards was generally viewed as a duty which had to be performed in the service of the community rather than as a locus of power, prestige, or income.

Because my conclusions are tentative, I hope that the decision-making processes in villages can be given further study. Based on my observations, however, I must question whether participation in public decisionmaking is a useful general measure of presence or absence of male dominance in other societies. It would seem to be useful only to the extent that access to a position of public decisionmaking is valued in the society being observed and to the extent that status, income, or power accrues to participants in the process.

Family decisionmaking is also conducted in a non-hierarchical fashion. The Eskimo family is still the strongest and most important institution in these villages. Households often consist of extended family groups. When married children move out of the household, they commonly establish their new home adjacent to one of the parents. Young adults generally conform to the wishes of their parents and other family members, and children are generally valued and enjoyed. Decisions affecting either one member of a family or the family as a whole usually are considered by the entire family and differences are negotiated. No one member of the family is the final authority in all situations.

In considering the question of complementary sex role relationships in the three villages, I also think it is necessary to consider the nature of the relationships among the villagers generally. Ideal relationships in the villages can be termed cooperative. Personal property consists of such items as clothing, and tools, and some larger items such as snow machines; but houses belong to families, and a few structures belong to the community. Food is distributed throughout the village (although some imported food is sold for cash), and the tundra and sea "belong" to everyone. The only hierarchical or stratified administrative structures which exist are those which have been imposed by outside agencies. Complementary sex role relationships would seem to be an appropriate reflection of this ethos of cooperation.

Unintended Consequences of the Program Structure

Consideration should be given to the possibility that women's status could be adversely affected by the presence of higher education programs in these villages. Carolyn M. Elliott has noted that, in some "developing" societies, women lose, rather than gain, status in the process of development (Elliott, 1977). "Indeed, women may be worse off in important ways because the benefits of modernization have accrued mainly to the male half of society" (p. 1). Her comments may be relevant to the three Eskimo villages. One of the unintended potential consequences of the community college program may be that one sex may lose status relative to the other as the result of the educational programs which are offered there. At present, the complementary sex role relationships tend to give women equal status with men. If higher educational programs are structured in such a way as to make it easier for one sex to complete them than the other, the benefits of education may well accrue to one more than to the other. If higher education leads to greater access to cash income for one sex than for the other, economic resources may in time be controlled by that sex, and the balance of power may tip in that direction as a result.

I suspect that Eskimo men as well as Eskimo women have extensive family commitments and that the educational progress of men also may be handicapped by the way in which traditional program structure conflicts with family commitments. Traditionally structured educational programs operate against anyone whose first responsibility is to the care of a family; and, in societies where men and women share family responsibilities (as I believe men and women do in the three villages), men and women alike will encounter problems in seeking higher education.

I do not know enough about male roles in the villages to be sure of the actual effects of the program structure on the lives of male students, but it seems possible that an institution designed to accommodate one ideal sex role in one society has been transferred into another society where neither male nor female roles conform to the ideal model for which the institution was designed. I suggest that a successful community college program might begin with the assumption that family responsibilities are primary in the lives of both Eskimo women and men rather than with the present assumption that family responsibilities are of minor importance to serious students.

If, in fact, traditionally structured programs of higher education impose severe limitations on participation by both Eskimo men and Eskimo women because of conflicts between the program structure and the local culture, the political implications

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of the program must be considered. Regardless of the intent of the educators, such programs may result in restricted participation by Eskimos in the dominant society. Registration figures in the three villages for the 1978-79 school year indicate that disproportionate numbers of students were, in fact, "selected out." The number of credit hours at spring registration was only 45 percent of the fall registration.

Can educational programs for these villages be structured in such a way as to accommodate male and female students who have family commitments? I believe the answer to that question is "yes." For the educational institutions of the dominant society, sheer numbers are one major factor operating against change in traditional structure. "Batch processing" (Philip Cusick's term, 1973) of 15, 30, or 50,000 college students pretty much necessitates highly structured time lines, credit hours, grading systems, limited personal involvement among students and teachers, etc. The situation is quite different for the rural Alaskan community college. There were between 15 and 25 students in the three villages during the 1978-79 school year, and the full-time equivalents for the college as a whole were between one and two hundred. I believe that this fact alone makes it feasible to discuss alternative structures in the community college program. As Ray Barnhardt has pointed out:

> We can no longer accept the traditional administrative and organizational structure of the school as a 'given' and expect relatively insignificant changes within that structure to resolve the recurring 'crises in education.' We need to step back and examine the influence of that structure and those who maintain it on the educational process and explore alternative forms of social organization and administration that might be more compatible with the changing role of the school (Barnhardt, 1979:xxi).

The single most important point which has evolved from this discussion is that educational programs in culturally different communities can create conflicts with local values and customs because the schools are viewed by educators as context-free. The conflicts created can severely limit educational achievement by people of different cultural orientations. Educators do not generally take the time to examine either their own assumptions about what it is they are attempting to transmit or the cultural context into which the hoped-for transmission occurs.

A number of factors have been identified in other local cultures as potentially relevant to school achievement. A complete description of those factors (including descriptions of both sex roles) would constitute a description of the educational context of the school. Descriptions of both contexts -- the context which professional educators tend to carry into the villages with them and the educational context of the local culture -- are needed if successful cross-culture programs are to be offered.

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